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No. 9 1937

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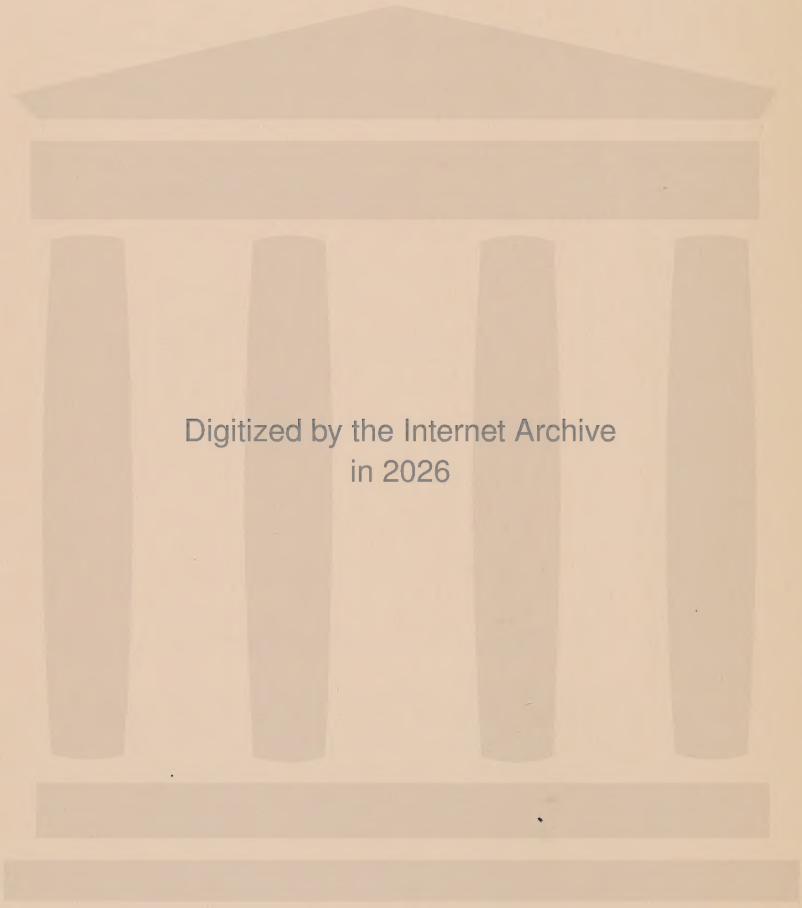

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EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES: RAILROAD PROPAGANDIST

By James W. Silver

To a remarkable degree, Tennessee and Tennesseans of the first half of the nineteenth century constituted the focal point of the westward movement of that era. It is appropriate, then, that the life of Edmund Pendleton Gaines, so devoted to the frontier, should appear to revolve about the Volunteer state. His connection with both the army and the West prevented a permanent home that might identify him with a particular section, although Tennessee seems to have more claim than any other.[1]

It was in East Tennessee, to which Gaines migrated as a youth, that he gained his education and won his spurs in the army. In Knoxville he gathered recruits for the War of 1812, and when his efforts in that struggle had been brilliantly successful, he returned for the hand of Barbara Blount, niece of the governor. For many years the general considered Middle Tennessee his permanent home, and particularly did he like Nashville. He sought the educational advantages of the capital for his children, visited at the Hermitage before Jackson's election to the presidency, and received a medal and thanks from the legislature for his martial exploits. Then, in the latter 1820's, he moved to West Tennessee with the purpose of superintending the military frontier as much as possible from Memphis. For a period of almost ten years the only home of Gaines remained in the budding river port. From the point of view of residence as well as close contact with outstanding individuals within and without the state, Gaines was most nearly a Tennessean.

With Tennessee as a base of operation, General Gaines carried on his least known and yet most valuable activity, his continual preaching of the Crusade of the iron rail. As always his first consideration lay in the possibility of a rapid transportation system as an adjunct to national defense, but almost as important to him were its potential peacetime benefits to an expanding West. In the 1820's this interest had been indicated in an urgent drive for internal improvements—the construction of roads, digging of canals, and dredging of rivers—but with

[1]For a summary of Gaines' life and contributions, see the author's "Edmund Pendleton Gaines and Frontier Problems, 1801-1849," in *Journal of Southern History*, I (August, 1935), 320-344.

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the advent of the railroad, Gaines turned his abundant energies in that direction. For almost twenty years he worked to make his section railroad conscious. It is even possible to follow the expansion of his own mind and plans: first, to include the Memphis area and Tennessee; then, the South and West; and, finally, the nation as a whole.

Tennessee was one of the last states in the South to turn to railroad building.[2] The LaGrange and Memphis railroad was projected in 1830, and by the middle of the next year plans were being made to connect it with the "contemplated railroad in Alabama,"[3] around the Muscle Shoals from Decatur to Tuscumbia.[4] The Memphis Rail Road Company was incorporated in December, 1831,[5] by the Tennessee General Assembly, shortly after the committee on internal improvements had reported favorably on the continuation of the Lynchburg and New River railroad from Virginia to Knoxville. The legislators were not overly optimistic: "In the effect produced by a given power the rail road is about a mean between the turnpike road and the canal, when the rate is about three miles an hour, but when greater speed is required, the railroad is equal to the canal in effect and even surpasses it."[6] The Tennessee Senate was decidedly hostile to the movement,[7] and the press of Middle Tennessee was also dubious. The *National Banner and Nashville Whig* proclaimed: "We should like to see, however, a few plain turnpikes constructed in our most populous neighborhoods . . . before we devote our minds to speculation about railroads to run hundreds of miles through the wilderness."[8] It is not difficult to see the point of the editor when one realizes that in the next year Captain George McCall spent seven days traveling from Memphis to Nashville, a trip which today consumes five hours. He wrote to his brother: "We passed over many miles of those execrable roads called 'corduroys';—they are roads through the swamp, made by laying fence-rails round or angular, crooked or straight, perpendicularly across the way."[9]

General Gaines was one of the first to visualize the possibility of the railroad becoming more than a mere adjunct to already existing land and water transportation. His projects soon transcended the Memphis to La Grange idea; and he arrived at the conclusion that the Mississippi River port should be connected with Baltimore or Charleston on the Atlantic, or better still, with both.

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[2]Addie Lou Brooks, The Beginnings of Railroads in West Tennessee, 1830-1861 (unpublished Master's thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1932), 7.
[3]Nashville *Republican and State Gazette,* November 10, 1831.
[4]*Southern Statesman* (Jackson), June 11, 1831.
[5]*Private Acts,* 1831, p. 185.
[6]*House Journal,* 1831, pp. 255-65.
[7]*Senate Journal,* 1831, pp. 128-32.
[8]June 8, 1831.
[9]January 15, 1832, George A. McCall, *Letters From the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 255.

The first ventures were doomed to at least temporary failure. The nullification controversy, a state financial crisis, the exciting presidential election of 1832, and a visitation of that dreaded scourge, cholera, were enough to distract the public interest from railroads. The summer of 1833, however, saw the return of enthusiasm. Memphis and Jackson were to be linked together. As the *Southern Statesman,* of Jackson, thought: "What a glorious thing it would be . . . to breakfast at Jackson, dine on the Mississippi, transact our business, and return home in good time for supper, all on the same day!"[10] In September a public meeting of Shelby county residents was called to consider "the propriety of cooperating with citizens of surrounding counties" in regard to a railroad into the "interior."[11] General Gaines was called to the chair. A committee was appointed to correspond with like bodies in other sections; meetings were called for Bolivar and Jackson, to which delegations from northern Alabama were invited; and a group of eleven headed by Gaines was designated to attend from Shelby county. The committee of correspondence requested the privilege of publishing the remarks of the general: "The views taken by yourself are such as have not attracted the attention of the community. The committees are anxious to avail themselves of every argument to arouse the people, from their lethargy to a correct view of this great topic—your remarks cannot fail to have the desired effect." The point was that the general had stressed the military aspect of the situation, in addition to the commercial and agricultural. It should be remembered that Memphis, whether she realized it or not, was then in the midst of a fight for existence with other river towns such as Randolph, Ashport, and Fulton. Gaines was recommending Memphis as the terminal of the railroad, and also as the site for a great national armory. According to him the town was capable of being strongly fortified, had easy approach to surrounding villages and agricultural settlements, was out of the reach of an invading foe, possessed a healthful climate, and could be a rendezvous most quickly accessible to a great number of fighting men. The only drawback was the lack of water power, which he thought might be obtained by means of a canal from the Wolf River.[12]

On behalf of the convention at Bolivar, Gaines sent to President Jackson its resolutions which indicated that the plan of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Atlantic was already full grown. South Carolina and Alabama were leading the way with short stretches already constructed. The through connection would be the greatest possible boon to that cotton growing country just emerging from primitive conditions, out of reach of steamboat navigation and good roads. Profitable mar-

[10]August 17, 1833.

[11]*National Banner and Nashville Whig,* September 20, 1833; *Southern Statesman,* September 21, 1833.

[12]*National Banner and Nashville Daily Advertiser,* September 27, 1833.

kets would be opened and foreign goods would be obtainable almost as cheaply as at the seaports. It was estimated that an annual freight of nearly $5,000,000 would come from the shipment of cotton, grain, flour, tobacco, crude nitre, pork, hay, tar and pitch, beef, tallow, potatoes, lime, apples, and small articles. Then, too, many more people would travel if provided with such improved accommodations. In short, the railroad was *"practicable and desirable . . .* it ought to be commenced forthwith," and it would *"contribute more in ten years time by the cheapness of its means of Transportation of merchandise and country produce than would be sufficient to defray the whole cost of its construction."*[13]

Evidently Gaines was soon apprized that the congressional act authorizing surveys for internal improvements would "allow only the furnishing of a Topographical Engineer . . . at the expense of the United States," for he wrote: "We shall be gratified to receive the scientific aid and cooperation allowed by law."[14] In the meantime the Western Rail Road Company, with Gaines as a commissioner, had been incorporated with a capital stock of $500,000, part of which was to be sold on the installment plan. Where necessary it had the right to condemn land between Jackson and Memphis.[15] In December Gaines was appointed as one of a committee of six to disburse $500 appropriated by the Tennessee General Assembly for a survey of the above route;[16] he was anxious to obtain the report of the engineers before opening the books for subscriptions. According to him there had been a terrific drop from eighteen to eleven cents in the price of cotton, part of which loss the farmers could have averted if a railroad had been available.[17]

In order to spread the good word, Gaines wrote innumerable letters to various government officials and men of influence. In a letter addressed to Governor H. G. Runnels of Mississippi, he asked: "I pray you to favor us with your patronage and good will in the great undertaking —convinced as I am that it will contribute to give to the Northeast border of your State, commercial advantages fully equal to those enjoyed by the inhabitants of your S. W. border."[18] He had one of his letters to Jackson printed in order to facilitate the carrying forth of its message. On one occasion he refused to postpone the publication of an article in order that it might appear simultaneously with another, not yet completed, "under the impression that to delay, even for a day or two longer, the distribution of the document already printed, would

[13]Rail Road Committee to President Jackson, November 5, 1833, in Gaines' handwriting, War Department, Adjutant General's office, Old Records Division, Western Division, 1808-1837. Letters, Memoranda, etc., Book 134. Hereafter cited A. G. O., O. R. D.

[14]Letter in Gaines' handwriting, *ibid.*

[15]*Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1833, pp. 18-27.

[16]*Ibid.,* 90.

[17]Memorandum of Gaines, undated, A. G. O., O. R. D., Book 134.

[18]Gaines to Governor Runnels, December 27, 1833, Series E, Vol. XXVII, Mississippi State Archives.

be to deprive my R Road friends of the information contained in that document fresh from the press.' "[19]

The aspirations of the Western Rail Road Company became perfectly apparent when its name was changed to that of the Atlantic and Mississippi Railroad.[20] On behalf of the new enterprise Gaines entered into an enthusiastic correspondence with a kindred spirit, Wilson Lumpkin, governor of Georgia. But the plan of the general called for a rail connection between Memphis and Charleston, cutting across southwest Tennessee, northeast Mississippi, northern Alabama and Georgia, and so into South Carolina, while Lumpkin insisted on a more southerly route which would traverse central Georgia and terminate at Savannah.[21] When the Atlantic and Mississippi kept to its original purpose, coöperation with Georgia became impossible, though four northern counties favored the Charleston plan.[22]

Through the instrumentality of Gaines, Colonel Stephen H. Long of the Topographical Bureau was despatched south to aid the Mississippi to the Atlantic project. Deterred by a cheerless prospect in Georgia, Long journeyed to Alabama, where the board of directors of the Tuscumbia, Courtland, and Decatur Railroad outfitted him for an examination of the topography from Tuscumbia to Memphis. Thereafter, under instructions from Gaines, he surveyed for the Western Rail Road Company a route from Memphis to Jackson and thence through the middle of Tennessee to Knoxville,[23] and, on behalf of the Atlantic and Mississippi company, a more southern course to Savannah, Georgia. Long's reports include, together with discussions of means and methods of construction, other railroad information indicative of the infancy of the industry. According to the engineer, the route through the length of Tennessee, the "southern" to Savannah, and the "northern" to Charleston, would cost six and a half millions, twelve millions, and fifteen millions, respectively.[24] In conclusion, Long gave it as his opinion that Memphis was the most favorably situated town on the Mississippi for a railroad terminal.[25] To these reports Gaines gave his hearty concurrence, and he especially approved of the opinion favoring Memphis,

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[19]Gaines to a Dr. Nye, undated, A. G. O., O. R. D., Book 134.

[20]*Public Acts*, 1833, pp. 56-59.

[21]Wilson Lumpkin to Gaines, December 10, 1833, March 3, 1834, August 27, 1834, in Wilson Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York, 1907), I, 230-231, 245-247, 263.

[22]Ulrich B. Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* (New York, 1908), 304-306; St. George L. Sioussat, "Memphis as a Gateway to the West," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, III (1917), 12-13.

[23]Report to Gaines, September 4, 1834, *House Executive Documents*, 23 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 177, p. 72.

[24]*Ibid.*, 68, 58, 34.

[25]*Ibid.*, 72.

"a position which is destined soon to become the *seaport* and *principal commercial emporium* of the state."[26]

The fact that Gaines was even considering the advisability of a railroad to the Atlantic which would not pass through Nashville brought forth the opposition of the *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* which considered the plan "hopeless and almost useless," for there was not sufficient commerce to make the road practicable. Never would a railroad be able to divert traffic which naturally went from Memphis to New Orleans. "If Gen. Gaines who deserves great credit for his ardour in the cause of internal improvements, would employ his talents on schemes more practicable, he might render the State some service in peace as he has already in war."[27] In December the same paper was calling for a macadamized turnpike between Nashville and either Randolph or Memphis.[28] In this struggle Nashville and Jackson favored the all Tennessee road to Knoxville and thence to Baltimore, while Memphis was more interested in the shorter distance to Charleston or Savannah.[29] There was also a difference of opinion between Gaines and the citizens of Jackson as to whether Randolph or Memphis would make the better terminal.

In connection with his plans for the defense of the country, Gaines, never able to "eat the bread of idleness," as early as July, 1834, proposed a railroad from Memphis to Little Rock. The government had under consideration the construction of a macadamized road between these towns, but Gaines desired that action be deferred until his lieutenants could make a topographical survey of the region. It was his idea to place the railroad on piles above the Mississippi swamps in order to allow for the overflow. The proposed railroad, when completed to the Red River, he declared, would "contribute greatly to render our beloved country united and impregnable in war, and prosperous and happy in peace."[30]

Less than a year later Gaines had expanded this idea into a plan which called for railroads as an integral part of the defense of the United States. "We have the gratification," he said, "to know that, by availing ourselves of our natural advantages in the countless resources of our country, we have it in our power at a moderate expense, and by means that will fill the public coffers, and in a few years of peace repay the expense of war with compound interest, to hold in our own hands,

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[26]Gaines to A. A. Anderson, November 10, 1835, in Report of Committee on Internal Improvement, Tennessee *House Journal,* 1835-36, p. 230.

[27]October 6, 1834.

[28]November 19, 1834.

[29]Nashville *Republican and State Gazette,* September 11, 1834.

[30]Gaines to Lewis Cass, July 14, 1834, A. G. O., O. R. D., Much of the work on the road was completed before Gaines' suggestions reached Secretary Cass, and no change could be made. Cass to Gaines, April 2, 1835, *ibid.,* Military Book, XIV, 110.

if we are wise and just, the incontestable issue of war."[31] He proposed that:

the attention of the Engineer department be directed to the examination of the country, from the two central States of Tennessee and Kentucky to the five principal grand divisions of the national frontier, for the final location and construction of a railroad to each one of those grand divisions of the national frontier. For example:

1. One from Lexington, Kentucky, through the State of Ohio, to Buffalo, New York, with a branch, from the Ohio river, at or near Maysville, to Detroit, Michigan; and another branch to pass by Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and from thence to the St. Lawrence river at St. Regis.

2. One from Memphis, Tennessee, through Middle and East Tennessee, and Virginia, to Maryland, there to unite with the railroad leading through Pennsylvania and New York, and those of the New England States, with a branch from Fincastle to Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia.

3. One from Memphis, Tennessee, through North Mississippi and Alabama, to Savannah, Georgia, with a branch through South Carolina and Newbern or Wilmington, North Carolina; with another branch from Macon or Milledgeville to Darien or St. Mary's, Georgia, and St. Augustine.

4. One from Louisville, Kentucky, via Nashville, Tennessee, to Mobile and Pensacola, with a branch to Tallahassee, Florida.

5. One from Memphis, Tennessee, to the head waters of the Sabine, with a branch to go up the valley of the Red river to Fort Towson; with another branch to go from Little Rock, up the valley of the Arkansas river, to Fort Smith or Fort Gibson.[32]

The advantages of such a system, whereby an army could be moved ten times as cheaply as without the railroads, were, to Gaines, self evident and beyond refutation. From a military point of view, the idea was that railroads should radiate from the two "interior" states with no borders to defend, Kentucky and Tennessee, to all sections of the frontier. Rapid transportation to any attacked point would mean more complete protection even with a smaller force than had been possible in the past.[33]

Captain George McCall in a letter to his father written from Alabama on July 5, 1835, gives a charming picture of an excursion Gaines and he made from Memphis in order that the general might attend as the honored guest the inauguration of the Tuscumbia and Courtland railroad. The one hundred sixty miles from Memphis to the destination in Alabama were covered, traveling through the Chickasaw country, in seven days.

[31] *House Executive Documents*, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 311, p. 41.

[32] *Ibid.*, 42-43; Gaines to Adjutant General, February 20, 1835, A. G. O., O. R. D., Letter Book 104, pp. 129-157.

[33] A long article from Gaines explaining the military advantages of railroads appeared in *Niles' Register*, L (1836), 403.

On July 4 McCall and Gaines reached Tuscumbia, were waited upon by a committee of directors,

> and escorted to a car in which were assembled a number of the ladies and gentlemen of Tuscumbia and vicinity. We soon set off under high steam-pressure on all sides. An *impromptu* band of music was thundering away in a front car; the Directors, who had early commenced the celebration of this commemorable day with *mint juleps,* were in the highest plight for fun and rejoicing; they kept the whistle of the locomotive agoing to the terror of plantation negroes, whose horses and light plows went tearing through the cotton-fields to the great delight of the merry Directors, who, standing on the platforms or mounted on the roof of our car, added their wild shouts to the scene of general confusion which accompanied the passage of this first train that passed over their new, their only and almost idolized railway. We, however, reached Courtland, twenty-three miles, in capital time, and without accident to the train or any one on board.

There followed a tremendous celebration at which great quantities of roast beef were consumed by four or five thousand people. That evening a ball, attended by the beauty of the country, was given in honor of the railroad and of the general. The next day Gaines was preparing to leave for Huntsville.[34]

On November 21, 1835, a report of the internal improvements committee to the Tennessee General Assembly, highly favorable to the development of railroads, included a letter from Gaines which contained Colonel Long's reports. The general contended that Tennessee must consider works already projected in other states and extend its coöperation. Even before the main trunk lines should have been completed, many lateral lines could be constructed into various counties. He felt confident that the national government, certainly with the aid of the state, would finance a central Tennessee railroad "as an essential appendage to the fortifications of the seaboard," for it would "contribute more to the national defence than all the *fortifications that have been or can be constructed.*" Twenty-seven days out of thirty could be saved in moving an army. Gaines estimated that within two years after completion the proposed railroads would produce a dividend of twelve to fifteen per cent, and that the farmers would save millions of dollars on wagons and teams. For the actual work he recommended the establishment of labor schools, and he asserted that the excellent training which they would provide would be so beneficial that he would be glad to enroll his own sons.[35] Interesting sidelights were that Gaines thought the roads should be constructed with American iron even if a premium had to be paid to the manufacturers, and that he considered manufacturing establishments as "destined soon to spring up among us."

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[34]McCall to his father, July 5, 1835, McCall, *op. cit.*, 273-77.

[35]Gaines to A. A. Anderson, November 10, 1835, *loc. cit.*, 229-33.

These ideas were presented to the house committee by General Gaines in person, as he happened to be in Nashville at the time;[36] and it is very probable that he was not unwilling to render the committee all the aid in his power in the drafting of the state aid bill which it introduced in the legislature. In fact, this proposed legislation shows very clearly the influence of Gaines' ideas. It provided that the state should subscribe for large amounts of stock in several specified railroad companies, and it included in the list most of the lines specifically recommended by the general. As enacted, however, this measure authorized the governor to subscribe on behalf of the state for one third of the stock in any and all of the railroad and macadamized turnpike companies incorporated in the state. During the special session of 1836 the legislature appropriated $15,000 for the survey of the central road through the state in which Gaines was particularly interested; but at the same time it revealed its unwillingness to be stampeded into the adoption of any possibly hairbrained schemes by instructing the engineer to enlighten the General Assembly as to the merits of a turnpike as compared with a railroad. That gentleman, Professor A. M. Lea, reported favorably on the central road project, but differed with Gaines in that he considered both Randolph and Fulton as superior to Memphis as a Mississippi River terminus, on the ground that Memphis was not "as near the center of the state as practicable."[37]

Recommending, in 1838, the establishment of a cordon of eleven army posts for the defense of the western frontier, Gaines, in response to instructions received, also considered as essential an elaborate system of western railroads to supply those posts. There would be seven roads needed:

First. A railroad from Memphis (Tenn.) via Little Rock (Ark.) to the Sabine river, at the point where the thirty-first degree of north latitude intersects that river or its principal fork.

Secondly. A railroad to branch off from the Tennessee and Texas railroad thirty miles northeastward from Little Rock, and to extend from the point of beginning up the valley of the Arkansas river to Fort Gibson, and thence to the site recommended where the Texas boundary intersects that river.

Thirdly. A railroad to branch off from the Tennessee and Texas railroad sixty miles to the northeastward of the point where it intersects the Red river, and to extend from the point of beginning up the valley of Red river to Fort Towson, and thence to the site recommended at the point where the Texas boundary leaves that river.

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[36]Nashville *Union,* November 19, 1835.

[37]*House Journal,* 1835-36, pp. 226-29; *Public Acts,* 1835-36, pp. 109-10; *ibid.,* 1836, pp. 12-14; "Report of the Chief Engineer of the State of Tennessee for the Central Rail Road and the Central Turnpike," October 30, 1837, *House Journal,* 1837-38, Appendix, 704-762.

Fourthly. A railroad to branch off from the Tennessee and Texas railroad at or near the Sabine ridge, dividing the waters of Red river from those of the Sabine, and extending thence to the mouth of the Sabine river, as designated by the treaty between the United States and Mexico.

Fifthly. A railroad from the city of St. Louis to Fort Gibson, Arkansas river, with a branch to extend up one of the forks of the Merrimac river to the site recommended upon the Osage river.

Sixthly. A railroad from St. Charles to the site recommended upon the upper Des Moines, with a branch to extend from the point at which the St. Charles and Des Moines railroad intersects the north boundary of the State of Missouri, to the upper Missouri river, near the site recommended at the mouth of the Big Platte.

Seventhly. A railroad from the mouth of the Chippewa river to the site to be selected on lake Superior.[38]

Gaines, ridiculed as visionary and told that his plan would be too costly, still maintained that these railroads were absolutely essential to the complete state of defense for the West. As for the cost, a war with England or Russia, without the proposed roads, would be more expensive in the first year than the combined cost of all of the railroads proposed.[39] Gaines himself was prepared to direct the work for he thought his junior officers might be unduly extravagant. It is worthy of note that the 1838 plan of Gaines dealt entirely with trans-Mississippi territory.

In October of the same year Gaines circulated from his headquarters at Saint Louis a printed letter which contained a further expansion of his views and requested the recipient to use his influence with state and federal governments.[40] Accompanying each lengthy document was a diagram of his national system of railroads. The general stated that he had ever been interested in obviating the countless expense of time and money which in the war of 1812 attended all transportation operations. His proposal of 1826 for a system of canals and turnpikes might well have been carried out had it not been for the spirit of party. By 1830, he "began to entertain hopes that a system of *Rail Roads* from the central States to the frontier, was practicable" and would be more acceptable to the people, but he could find few men willing to hazard their reputations upon a "project of so awful a character." The danger of unconstitutionality of such a national undertaking was no cause for worry for the control should be invested in the states, with the exception that there should be compulsory free transportation of mail and troops. Gaines spoke of the glorious future of the West when Missouri

[38]*House Executive Documents,* 25 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 311, p. 16.
[39]*Ibid.,* 17.
[40]Gaines to Gov. Newton Cannon, October 14, 1838, Gaines Papers (Tennessee State Library). Hereafter cited Gaines Papers (T. S. L.). A copy was sent to David Campbell, Richmond, Virginia. See also Gaines to Civil and Military Authorities of the City of New Orleans, November 24, 1838, *ibid.*

and Illinois were to take the place of Tennessee and Kentucky as the central military states of the Union. Without the unifying influence of the railroads the United States might "at the close of the century, be found impoverished and divided . . . into hundreds of miserable factions, an easy prey to some neighboring tyrant." A similar letter to the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce written in January, 1839, emphasizing river defenses to a great extent but repeating the arguments in favor of railroads, was likewise printed and broadcast.[41]

To General Gaines the scant consideration given by the commanding general and the war department to his particular brain child was far from satisfying. He took what, to him, was the next logical step when he appealed over their heads to the Senate and House of Representatives. As a native Virginian and a citizen of Tennessee, "schooled in *her cabins* and *her camps*," he begged Congress to hear his plea for an extensive system of national defense,[42] part of which was to consist of a still more elaborate proposal for a national network of railroads. There were to be seven of these roads extending from Tennessee and Kentucky to the seven grand divisions of the national border:

First. One principal railroad from Lexington, Ky., to Buffalo or Plattsburg, N. Y., with branches to Detroit, Albany, and Boston.

Second. One principal railroad from Knoxville, Tenn., to Norfolk, Va., or Baltimore, Md., with branches to Richmond, Va., and Newbern, North Carolina.

Third. One principal railroad from Memphis, Tenn., to Charleston, S. C., or Savannah, Ga., with branches to Milledgeville, Ga., and East Florida.

Fourth. One principal railroad from Louisville, Kentucky, to Mobile, Ala., with a branch to Pensacola, Fla.

Fifth. One principal railroad from Lexington, Ky., via Nashville, to New Orleans.

Sixth. One principal railroad from Memphis, Tenn., to the Sabine ridge, with branches to Fort Towson and Fort Gibson, Arkansas.

Seventh. One principal railroad from Louisville, Ky., or Albany, Ind., to St. Louis, Mo., and thence to the Missouri river, north of the mouth of the Big Platte; with branches from Albany, Ind., to Chicago, and from the northwest angle of the State of Missouri to the upper crossing of the river Des Moines.

11. These seven great arteries or principal railroads here enumerated, will each be from 500 to 700 miles in length, (averaging 600 miles), making altogether a distance of 4,200 miles; and the average cost of locating and constructing them is estimated at $15,000 per mile; amounting, altogether,

[41]Gaines to New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, January 22, 1839 (sent to Governor Cannon, April 6, 1839), Gaines Papers (T. S. L.).

[42]*Senate Documents*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 256; *House Executive Documents*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 206; See also *Niles' Register*, LIX (1840-41), 322. There is a reprint of this memorial (Memphis, 1840) in the Library of Congress.

to the sum of $64,000,000, provided they are located and constructed by the army of the United States: the railroads to be of the most substantial kind, each having a double track. The whole work to be completed by the authority and at the expense of the United States; provided that, on its final completion, it shall revert to the States, in their sovereign and individual capacity; each State to retain, forever, the right of property in and to all of such section or sections of the said railroads, with all their appurtenances, lying or being within the territorial limits of such States, respectively, upon the simple condition that all troops, whether regulars or volunteers, in the service of the United States, with their munitions of war, together with the mail, shall be transported forever upon these railroads, free of expense to the United States.[43]

Gaines then went on to discuss the advantages to be derived from the proposed system both in peace and war. Besides contributing military and commercial benefits the railroads would "form ligaments of union more powerful than bulwarks of adamant, or chains of iron or gold, to bind the States together in perpetual union." As in 1835 the plan called for actual construction to be placed in the hands of the army, which was to be increased by the addition of thousands of volunteers. According to Gaines many young men, otherwise idle because of lack of employment, would be armed with weapons of industry and enterprise. He called upon Congress to understand that as the bow and arrow, gunpowder, and the use of wheel-carriages had revolutionized society in the past, so steam power was doing in the present. The appeal over the head of the secretary of war was due to the fact that the last three secretaries had either misunderstood, disregarded, or disapproved of Gaines' suggestions, while he considered it his primary duty to go to this length to serve his country. The plans had been approved by W. H. Seward, Newton Cannon, E. D. White, and Wilson Lumpkin, governors of New York, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Georgia, respectively. Though a strong believer in the Constitution, "that most perfect charter of human freedom and self government," the general so viewed that instrument as to be in harmony with his schemes.[44] He later wrote to Governor Cannon that some of his opponents might endeavor to put him in the wrong "by saying that the word STEAM Power is no where to be found in the constitution."[45]

That his proposed network was to be only the frame for a more extensive system was shown by the following:

It is believed, moreover, that the construction of the proposed rail roads, would not fail to create the means for the speedy completion of all the lateral branches required for every State and seaport, by multiplying among us experienced engineers and scientific mechanics, with habits of industry and

[43] *Ibid.; Senate Documents*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 256, pp. 9-10.

[44] See also Gaines' pamphlet (Library of Congress), *To the Young Men of the States of the American Union* (Fort Jackson, La., 1838).

[45] Gaines to Cannon, September, 1840, in Nashville *Whig*, September 11, 1840.

enterprize; giving to all classes of the community profitable employment, calculated to render them independent in their domestic affairs, respectable and happy in peace, and formidable in war—whilst the money expended would be kept in a healthful state of circulation among the farmers, merchants and mechanics of our interior settlements.[46]

In answer to a request from the secretary of war, Colonel J. J. Abert, of the Topographical Engineers, reported on the practicality of Gaines' scheme. According to Abert the total distance contemplated would be at least 6,310 miles instead of 4,200 and the cost would be nearer $20,000 a mile than $15,000, making the total outlay about $126,000,000, almost double the estimate submitted by Gaines. This, however, probably would be reduced to the neighborhood of $108,000,000 by the judicious use of railroads already constructed.[47]

By the next year General Gaines apprehended no serious objection to his system of railroads and harbor defenses[48] and was in fact recommending the removal of snags in the river up to "the point of departure that may be selected for the Rail Road from the Missouri river across the Rocky Mountains."[49] As time went on and concrete results were few Gaines continued the agitation even in the face of apparently certain defeat, never seeming discouraged.[50] Not unusual was a printed letter sent to the secretary of war which carried the plea:

> Let the people of the South complete the railroad, ten years past undertaken, from Memphis, Tennessee, to Charleston, South Carolina, or Savannah, Georgia—a work already more than half completed. Let them extend from this great railroad, at or near the Tennessee ridge, a branch to Mobile or to Pensacola, and another branch from where the main stem crossed the Flint river ridge, and thence south-east, between the waters of the Flint and the Oakmulgee rivers, to the St. John's and St. Augustine.
>
> And let the people of the Middle and Western States construct a principal railroad from Kentucky, via Fincastle, Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge, with a branch southeastward, to unite with the railroads of North Carolina,

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[46] *Senate Documents,* 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 256, p. 13.

[47] J. J. Abert to Joel Poinsett, April 24, 1840, *House Ex. Documents,* 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 206, pp. 143-145; for Gaines' plan see *Niles' Register,* LIX, 322.

[48] Gaines to Gov. J. C. Jones, October 7, 1841, Gaines Papers (T. S. L.); also Gaines to John Bell, June 28, 1841, A. G. O., O. R. D.

[49] Gaines to John C. Spencer, December 7, 1841, *ibid.*

[50] According to one writer, the general never talked long with anyone without spending at least half the time on his system of railroads. E. D. Keyes, *Fifty Years Observation of Men and Events* (New York, 1884), 172.

with another branch northeastward, to unite with the railroads of Winchester and Baltimore.[51]

Perhaps mainly through the instrumentality of such roads as these would the Union "continue to grow in numbers and in strength, until its benign influence is seen and felt throughout every quarter of the globe."[52] The Atlantic and Mississippi project always remained a favorite one with Gaines;[53] and in June, 1845, he urged again upon the secretary of war its necessity, with branches to Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Marks. He also suggested the advisability of a connection between Memphis and Texas. These railroads could be completed in five years at a total cost of $45,870,000.[54]

On March 25, 1845, a committee of prominent citizens met in Memphis, at the first instance to discuss means of procuring aid for a contemplated road through Arkansas, but more important to act as a forerunner of the famous 1845 Memphis convention on internal improvements. Part of the work of the committee consisted of a review of past progress of the town, one step being a recognition of the services of General Gaines, "who was the first to publish to the world a broad and ample view of the situation of Memphis; the first to publicly urge the connection of the Atlantic and the Mississippi by a railroad from Charleston to Memphis; the first to propose the connection of the western frontier with the river at this point by the continuation of the railroad; and the first to propose other branches and collateral roads all concentrating here for military purposes. To him also credit must be given for urging the availability of water power to Memphis."[55]

A convention met on July 4 only to give way to the more famous one presided over by John C. Calhoun, which commenced on November 14.[56] This was a national affair attended by between six and seven hundred delegates, representing eighteen states, and interested in internal improvements of all kinds.[57] The presence of Calhoun heading a large group from South Carolina and Georgia indicated that the rail-

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[51]Printed letter, dated February 21, 1842, p. 5, A. G. O., O. R. D. James Davis wrote in his *History of Memphis* (Memphis, 1873, pp. 75-76): "About this time, [1830] Maj. Gen. E. P. Gaines established the headquarters of the Western Division of the United States Army at this place, and never was there a greater accession to any town, for had he been properly aided, he would have set Memphis full twenty years ahead, and given her a start over any other city of the Mississippi Valley. He secured the location of the military road across Arkansas, the establishment of the arsenal, and was the first to suggest this point for a naval depot and dock yard; and also a system of railroads very similar to that now almost perfected."

[52]Printed letter, dated February 21, 1842, p. 6, A. G. O., O. R. D.

[53]Gaines to Wm. Marcy, June 28, 1845, Gaines Papers (Library of Congress).

[54]*Ibid.;* see also *Niles' Register,* LIII (1837-38), 384; Sioussat, *op. cit.,* 19.

[55]*Ibid.,* 78.

[56]Nashville *Whig,* September 20, 1845; for story of convention see Sioussat, *op. cit.;* Herbert Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions 1837-1859* (Baltimore, 1930).

[57]Sioussat, *op. cit.,* 92.

road dreams of the early thirties were about to be realized. The editor of the Memphis *Enquirer* had already congratulated Gaines on the approaching success of his railroad plan.[58]

Though stationed at New Orleans, Gaines journeyed to the convention as a delegate from Louisiana, arriving too late for the first session. A committee of three waited upon him with the information that he had been elected as one of the vice presidents by the convention at large and urging him to take his seat the second day.[59] He was then honored by the entire assemblage standing as he entered the hall, and was placed upon the committees on "Military and Naval Resources" and "necessities of the South and West," and that concerned with the western armory.[60] He presented resolutions on military and naval defense, accompanying them with a speech which was received with "much applause."[61] The completion of the southeastern railroads, including connections from Memphis to Nashville and Little Rock, as well as an extension to Texas, were part of the general's recommendations. As for the present he would not go farther than the Rio Grande but he wished to intersect that river at a place in a direct line between Memphis and California. It was not that he had any designs on California, but that he desired the inhabitants of that region to know better those of the United States. Gaines was quite sure that the Californians would say of the union what Burns had written of one of his sweethearts:

> To see her is to love her,
> And love her but forever,
> For Nature made her what she is
> And ne'er made such another.

And as for Mexico he had none other than the most friendly of interests. The reason for the construction of a railroad to the Rio Grande was that the Mexicans "might have the opportunity of seeing us, loving us, and uniting with us."[62] A similar trend of thought was contained in one resolution he put to the convention: "The Government of the United States has or will soon acquire, the Republic of Texas, and make it a part of the Union."[63] The laughter and applause accompanying the speech of the old soldier left no doubt as to the feelings of his listeners on the matters of internal improvements and expansion.[64]

Though the Memphis convention of 1845 may have produced no tangible results, it was a demonstration of the tempo of the time. That

[58] June 16, 1844.
[59] Nashville *Whig*, November 22, 1845.
[60] *Journal of the Proceedings of the South-Western Convention, Began and Held at the City of Memphis on the 12th November, 1845* (Memphis, 1845).
[61] *Ibid.*, 23.
[62] Nashville *Union*, November 25, 1845.
[63] *Journal* of the Convention.
[64] Sioussat, *op. cit.*, 99-100.

public interest had reached such a stage was in no small degree due to the pioneer efforts of General Gaines, who may truly be said to have been one of the prophets of the age of the steel rail, particularly in the South and West. His contribution was perhaps mainly in arousing the public from its lethargy, upon which it is extremely difficult to pass judgment, but which might be termed all the more important for that. Even after 1845 he continued his interest.[65] In due time water of the Atlantic, transported by rail to Memphis, was poured into the Mississippi;[66] Mexico and California were reached; and the network of railroads proposed by Gaines became an actuality. A writer in the *Republican Banner* might well have had the labor of Gaines in mind when he composed the following:

> The Golden Age—the Age of Gold!
> Poets have sung, and historians told
> Of the Metal, which cast into mortal mould
> Singular patterns produces.
> But alas! for that very auriferous time,
> No more is it subject for story or rhyme;
> For by "Rail" up Fame's temple crowned
> gradiant we climb,
> And Iron's the theme of the Muses.[67]

[65]Nashville *Republican Banner*, September 14, 1846.

[66]James Phelan, *History of Tennssee; The Making of a State* (New York, 1889), 289; T. D. Clark, "The Building of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 9-25.

[67]January 14, 1846.

BANKING AND FINANCE IN TENNESSEE DURING THE DEPRESSION OF 1837

By CLAUDE A. CAMPBELL

The world wide panic of 1837 and the six or seven year period of depressed conditions immediately following it were exceedingly painful for the people of Tennessee.[1] The fact that the experience was not peculiar to them did little to decrease their resentment and chagrin over the destruction of their illusion concerning the almost limitless wealth which they had believed was shortly to be theirs. The charges and countercharges of the opponents and proponents of President Andrew Jackson as to responsibility for the unfortunate state of affairs reflected the bitter partisanship of this period in the state.

Tennessee, like the rest of the country, was enjoying a period of apparently great prosperity when the depression of 1837 began. Prices of agricultural products were very high. Cotton, for example, had increased from six to eight cents per pound in 1833 to from fifteen to twenty cents per pound in 1836.[2] Speculation in land was rife. Speculators, who operated among all classes, were wild in their calculations as to the future. The lifetime of a generation was too short a period in which to have paid the inflated values.[3]

At the time of President Jackson's veto of the bill for the recharter of the Bank of the United States in 1832, the branch of this institution at Nashville, with a capital stock of $1,000,000, had loaned to the people of Tennessee the sum of $2,500,000, which constituted a large bank debt for that period.[4] In October, 1832, after Congress had failed to recharter the Bank of the United States, the legislature of Tennessee

[1]Carl Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay* (New York, 1888), II, chapter XIX, gives a good discussion of the causes and effects of the crisis of 1837. For a general background of the causes of the depression of 1837, see Ernest Ludlow Bogart, *Economic History of the American People* (New York, 1931), 375, and Fred Albert Shannon, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1924), 352.

[2]Schurz, *op. cit.*, 114, 126.

[3]The returns from the sale of public lands in the nation amounted to $3,900,000 in 1833, $4,800,000 in 1834, $14,700,000 in 1835 and $24,000,000 in 1836. This represented a 15 $^{72}/_{100}$ per cent increase in revenue from land sales for the four year period prior to 1837. The people of Tennessee shared proportionately in this speculative mania, although the land involved was sold by the state rather than by the federal government. C. A. Campbell, *The Development of Banking in Tennessee* (Vanderbilt Studies, Nashville, 1932), 75; Schurz, *op. cit.*, 114; John Wooldridge (ed.), *History of Nashville, Tennessee* (Nashville, 1890), 284.

[4]Nashville *Whig*, March 18, 1840.

chartered the Union Bank in Nashville, with a capital stock of $3,000,000, which went into operation on March 4, 1833.[5] The legislature followed this "experiment" by creating the Planters' Bank in Nashville, with a capital stock of $2,000,000, and the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank in Memphis, with a capital stock of $600,000, in 1833.[6] Thus, the state's bank capital had increased $5,600,000 within less than five years' time.[7] The state's bank debt had grown from approximately $2,000,000 to $8,000,000 or $10,000,000 during the same period.[8] Meanwhile, the note issues of the Tennessee banks had become depreciated from six per cent at Louisville to twenty per cent at New York, and they fluctuated at various percentages between these two figures in other cities.[9]

The absence of public control and of a uniform system of banking laws applicable to the country as a whole permitted the prevalence of unsound banking practices in Tennessee. The existence of multifarious banks set up under heterogeneous special charters was conducive to the exploitation of the people by both the honest but inexperienced bankers[10] and by the dishonest but shrewd and experienced ones. The lack of uniformity of regulations governing the issuance of notes opened the door to thousands of spurious notes through which many people lost their earnings. The federal government's transference of its deposits from the United States Bank to the state banks lent decided impetus to the formation of small banks in Tennessee as elsewhere, which could not be safe except under a system of convertibility. The people of the state at the time, however, were seemingly unaware of the fact that the ruinous fluctuations of the irredeemable and irresponsible issues of the well named "wild cat" banks injured trade greatly.

The people of Tennessee paid enormous discounts for the doubtful privileges and supposed conveniences afforded by their banks, the vast majority of which were quite unstable. Prior to 1836 the two main services performed by the banks were the discounting of notes and the purchasing of bills of exchange.[11] The discounting of notes at the bank for borrowers was similar to the lending of money on personal

[5]Message of William Carroll to the legislature, September 16, 1833, Nashville *Republican and State Gazette,* September 17, 1833; *House Journal,* 1833, pp. 356, 374-76; *Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1832, pp. 2-13. The state bought $500,000 of the $3,000,000 capital stock of the Union Bank, for which it issued bonds. This bond issue was the beginning of Tennessee's state debt.

[6]Will T. Hale and Dixon F. Merritt, *Tennessee and Tennesseans* (Chicago, 1913), II, 357-58; J. M. Keating, *History of Memphis and Shelby County* (Syracuse, 1888), 199-00; *Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1833, pp. 30-42; J. P. Young, *History of Memphis* (Knoxville, 1912), 579.

[7]Nashville *Whig,* March 18, 1840.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]Horace White, *Money and Banking* (Fifth edition, Boston, 1914), 324-27.

[11]T. P. Abernethy, "The Early Development of Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XIV (December, 1927), 315.

notes by present day commercial bankers. The furnishing of bills of exchange, however, was by far the more important of these functions.[12] Farmers generally sold their cotton, tobacco, or other exportable produce outright to local merchants, who shipped it to New Orleans or some other designated market which they could reach by water.[13] These local dealers had arrangements with firms in the terminal markets whereby they would receive and market products sent to them.[14] This made it possible for these buyers to go to their home banks and draw bills of domestic exchange on correspondent banks at the final market. These bills were usually for amounts equal to about half the current market price of the products shipped, and generally matured in from four to six months.[15] The banks bought these bills and deducted from six to eight per cent interest and from one to two per cent exchange. Cash for Tennessee shippers at such rates, from seven to ten per cent, was dear, but they were glad to get it at even those figures, and in consequence these transactions formed a very profitable business for the banks.[16]

In 1836 the state of federal finances was very pleasing. There was a surplus of revenue for distribution among the states. Governor Newton Cannon convened the General Assembly of Tennessee in a called session on October 3, 1836, to enact legislation pertaining to the state's share of this surplus which had accrued to it as a result of the passage of the act of Congress on June 23, 1836, entitled "An act to regulate the deposits of the public money."[17] Indicative of the prosperous times in Tennessee was Governor Cannon's statement that "At no period have the Representatives of the people of Tennessee been assembled when the aspect of our state presented brighter evidence of public prosperity and individual happiness."[18]

The assembly considered a bill that would have appropriated the surplus to various internal improvement companies.[19] It failed of passage by a small majority, however. Instead, the assembly enacted a measure to deposit the surplus in the Union and Planters' banks until the convening of the next assembly.[20] The editor of the Knoxville

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Report of the Union Bank to the General Assembly, October 3, 1837, Nashville Bank Papers, Tennessee Archives (War Memorial Building, Nashville).

[14] J. S. Bassett, *The Southern Plantation Overseer* (Northampton, 1925), 221-59.

[15] Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 317; Campbell, *op. cit.*, 38.

[16] Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 318; Campbell, *op. cit.*, 38.

[17] *Niles' Weekly Register,* Fifth Series, No. 7, LI (October 15, 1836), 97; Tennessee *House Journal,* 1836, p. 8.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Knoxville *Register,* November 2, 1836.

[20] The answers of the Planters' Bank, the Union Bank, and the private bank of Yeatman, Woods, and Company, of Nashville, to a select committee of the legislature relative to the terms on which they proposed to receive the portion of the surplus revenue coming to the State of Tennessee suggest collusion. *House Journal,* 1836, Appendix, 73-75.

Register was afraid that this measure would create an interest in the state adverse to the cause of internal improvements and education:

> We don't mean silently to submit to an appropriation which, from our former experience, promises nothing but a temporary advantage to our banking institutions, and a total ultimate loss of a fund which if judiciously and *boldly* appropriated, will enable us successfully to prosecute an extensive system of Internal Improvement and Common Schools.[21]

He contended that these were the only constitutional objects to which the assembly might allocate the surplus. The banking and financial crisis that came early in 1837 prevented a great deal of controversy about what to do with the surplus, however, since only three installments were distributed before the federal surplus changed into a deficit.[22]

A general suspension of specie payments by banks in every section of the United States occurred in the early part of 1837. The Whig and Democratic papers of Nashville could not agree upon the question of the policy which the banks of that city should follow in this situation. The Democrats charged the Whigs with favoring suspension in order to force the rechartering of the Bank of the United States.[23] The Whig *Republican* "hinted at" the desirability of suspending specie payments and the Whig *Banner* openly "advocated" it.[24] The Democratic *Union,* however, contended that "The impolicy of such a course on the part of our banks, to say nothing of its illegality and violation of the obligation of their charters, is too obvious to escape the attention of the most careless observer."[25]

It seems, however, that the demand for the suspension of specie payments increased rapidly throughout the state. Some of the county courts ordered the sheriffs to collect taxes in specie or such types of money as would be the equivalent.[26] On May 22 the business men of Nashville held a meeting at the Davidson county courthouse and discussed the advisability of the suspension of specie payments by the banks of the state. They set forth their views in the following preamble and resolutions:

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[21]Knoxville *Register,* November 2, 1836.

[22]*Niles' Weekly Register,* LI, 97; Young, *op. cit.,* 581.

[23]Nashville *Union,* May 9, 1837.

[24]Quoted in Nashville *Union,* May 6, 9, 1837. The *Union* gave as its reasons for this attitude: "(1) That the banks were solvent, (2) That the measure would be followed by the instant depreciation of paper, thus causing a dead loss on more than two millions of paper that the Union and Planters' Banks had in circulation." This, it contended, would benefit the rich men who had borrowed from these banks, by enabling them to buy the notes at a large discount and to pay off their debts at *par value.* This situation was also true for the state at large.

[25]Nashville *Union,* May 6, 9, 11, 1837.

[26]*Ibid.,* May 16, 1837.

Whereas, information has reached us that many banking institutions of the North, East, and South from causes which it is not now necessary to detail, have suspended specie payments; and whereas it is certain that others, and especially the bank of New Orleans with which the banks of the State of Tennessee are in a good degree connected, will also be compelled in a very short time to suspend payment of their notes in specie; and whereas by those relations which necessarily and inevitably exist and have existed between the various banking concerns of other States and those of our own, our own banks are driven to the alternative either of suspending specie payments for a time, or of greatly distressing the country by an immediate collection of their debts and a consequent reduction of their circulation, which is in fact the only existing currency of the country; and whereas we have the utmost confidence in the solvency and ultimate responsibility of our banks, and in the main in the solvency and responsibility of the debtors thereto; therefore, Resolved, That we as a matter of prudence and policy, . . . do recommend to the several banks of the State of Tennessee to suspend specie payments. . . .

The bankers also recommended that all banks give "reasonable indulgence" to their debtors, and "exercise a liberal policy" in receiving for deposit and giving countenance to their own notes and also the notes of other sound banks. They expressed a belief that the banks of the state were sound, and that each would do its best to sustain its circulation. Finally, they recommended "that the President, Directors, and Company of the Nashville Bridge be respectfully requested to issue to such an amount within their charter as they may deem expedient small change bills as a matter of convenience."[27]

The exchanges were heavily against all of the Tennessee banks in 1837, and eastern creditors returned their circulation to them for eastern exchange to pay eastern debts.[28] When money was necessary to facilitate the purchase and shipment of the produce of the country, it was the policy of the banks to furnish it, if at all possible. The Tennessee banks, however, protested vigorously and successfully against this policy. They pointed out that in the condition of the state, which had a heavy foreign debt, an increase in discounts would not be followed by a corresponding increase in circulation, but that the bankers would apply the money to the payment of the collection of notes or drafts against the banks and merchants. They argued that this would be very oppressive, since these payments would not be made in the description of funds required and that the consequence would be suits against the banks.[29] Consequently, the boards of directors of the Union and Planters' banks at Nashville decided that it would be necessary for these banks to suspend specie payments, as a matter of self-defense.[30] They had held out until

[27]Wooldridge, *op. cit.*, 285.
[28]*Senate Journal*, 1837-38, Appendix, 614-18.
[29]*Ibid.*
[30]Nashville *Union*, May 25, 1837.

the banks of all the states lying north, east, south, and west on the Tennessee borders had set the example for suspension.[31]

In the meantime, the Whigs and Democrats disagreed as to the causes of the depression of 1837. The Whigs were bitter in their condemnation of the specie circular. Governor Cannon, a leader of the anti-Jackson group, gave expression to the ideas of his followers in his message to the General Assembly on October 4, 1837:

> It has fallen to our lot to taste the bitter fruit of an experiment upon the currency, which, in the midst of the highest state of prosperity, has brought upon us a strong revulsion and total derangement of the monetary concerns of the country. How long and to what extent we may be doomed to suffer under this state of things must mainly depend upon the action of the general government, by whose mistaken action and unwise policy this calamity has been inflicted upon us.[32]

The editor of the Democratic *Union* was insistent in pointing out that trading and speculation consequent on over issues of bank paper and too liberal extension of credit facilities was the immediate cause of all the pecuniary embarrassments of the South and West as well as of New York.[33] He maintained, furthermore, that a more remote cause had its existence in the policy of the Bank of the United States of acting in concert and in connection with the Bank of England, the main object being to force the exportation of specie from the United States by the depression of prices of the American staples, cotton and tobacco. On the other hand, "The policy pursued by General Jackson's administration, dating from the removal of the deposits, has had the effect of causing a continual increase of specie in the United States by importations from abroad, especially from England." The specie circular, he contended, had done "great good" in keeping land from selling for cheap money and in bringing specie to the Southwest in connection with the operation of the deposit law.[34] Jackson Democrats pointed out, too, the good effects that had resulted to the state from the unwillingness of Governor William Carroll,[35] an ardent Jackson man, actively to sponsor various bills for state aid to internal improvements.[36]

When the Tennessee banks suspended specie payments in May, 1837, many people believed that the period had arrived when the banks should cease "to possess the power by an issue of their paper of regulating the price of property—of depressing, it today and raising it tomorrow,"

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Keating, *op cit.*, 204; *Niles' National Register*, LII (October 14, 1837), 97.

[33] Nashville *Union*, April 29, 1837. This, according to the *Union*, was contrary to Jackson's policy and to his "reiterated recommendations to Congress and to the Country."

[34] *Ibid.*, May 6, 9, 11, 1837.

[35] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1837.

[36] Keating, *op. cit.*, 204; Nashville *Republican and State Gazette*, September 17, 1833.

according as they chose "to issue more or less of their paper."[37] The only remedy, they said, would be to reform the currency and to restore the circulation of silver and gold.[38]

General economic conditions were very depressed during the panic of 1837 and the years immediately following it. Prices declined rapidly throughout 1837 and during the first part of 1838. On March 29, 1838, the *Western Union* of Trenton, Tennessee, contained the following statements:

> New Orleans dates, as late as the 15th instant, represent the depression in the price of cotton as unexampled in the history of that market. Quotations of 1 1/3 to 2 cents; the operations which are, however, represented to be but limited owing to the unwillingness of holders to sell at the present low rates. The cause of this sudden decline is supposed to be the late injudicious conduct of the Louisiana Legislature in relation to the banks, and the receipt of recent advices from Liverpool, showing a further decline in the market there.[39]

Characteristic of the attitude of the people as late as 1839 is this comment, ". . .times is only tolerable. I wish it was better for I have to pay that note of $663 next Friday."[40]

Meanwhile, the legislature of Tennessee had answered the call of the people for financial aid to collapsed business and for the remedying of conditions which the forced liquidation of many of her banks and the suspension of specie payments by the remainder had caused. On January 19, 1838, it chartered a bank with a capital stock of $5,000,000 with the state as the sole stockholder.[41] The General Assembly declared "That a bank shall be and is hereby established in the name and style of 'The Bank of Tennessee,' and the faith and credit of the state are hereby pledged for the support of said bank and to supply any deficiency in the funds hereinafter specifically pledged, and to give indemnity for all losses arising from said deficiency." It captioned the law "An

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[37]Nashville *Union,* August 8, 1837.

[38]To substantiate this argument the Nashville *Union* on August 8, 1837, recommended that the states after that time confine their legislation within the prohibition contained in the tenth section and the first article of the United States Constitution, which, among other matters, provides that *"no state shall coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything a tender in the payment of debts but gold and silver coin."*

[39]March 29, 1838. Returns from the sale of public lands in the nation amounted to $18,000,000 less in 1837 than they had in 1836. Wooldridge, *op. cit.,* 284.

[40]William Cathart, Franklin, Tennessee, to his brother in Nashville, June 15, 1839, MS. Letter in Tennessee Historical Society Archives (War Memorial Building, Nashville).

[41]*Acts of Tennessee,* 1837-38, pp. 153-66. This proved to be that state's last venture in the banking business. Subsequently, the directors of the parent bank located ten branches of the state bank at Rogersville, Athens, Shelbyville, Columbia, Clarksville, Trenton, Sommerville, Memphis, Sparta, and Knoxville. *Senate Journal,* 1837-38, Appendix, 614-18.

Act to establish a State Bank to raise a fund for the internal improvements and to aid in the establishment of a system of education."[42]

The charter of the Bank of Tennessee nominally ran for thirty years, or until January 1, 1868. It authorized the governor to nominate and appoint, subject to the confirmation of the General Assembly, twelve directors, of whom one-third were not to be merchants. The directors were to hold office for only two years. Under this arrangement the legislature, under the control of whatever political party happened to be in power at the time, tended to dictate the management and policies of the bank. One half of the capital stock of the bank was to be made up of the whole of the common school fund, the proceeds from the sale of the "Ocoee Lands," and Tennessee's share of the surplus revenue distributed among the states under the act of Congress already referred to. The remainder of the capital was to be provided by an issue of $2,500,000 worth of state bonds bearing six per cent interest payable semi-annually and maturing thirty years after date. These bonds were not to be sold, however, at less than their par value, and only specie or funds convertible into specie were to be accepted in payment.[43]

The bonds were issued immediately by the governor and delivered to the bank;[44] but public distrust in the nation at large was still so great that by January, 1839, only $1,000,000 had been disposed of. The legislature, therefore, on January 28, 1840, reduced the capitalization of the bank from $5,000,000 to $3,500,000, and directed the governor to cancel the $1,500,000 of unsold bonds.[45] Even this reduced capitalization was in part prospective rather than actual, because, although the surplus revenue and the existing common school fund were transferred from the banks with which it had been deposited without much difficulty, the Ocoee lands had not been placed on the market until 1838 and were selling rather slowly during the depression. As late as October 1, 1839, the operating capital of the bank was only $2,148,706.37.[46]

Some of the members of the legislature of 1837-38 held the opinion that it was a bad thing for the state merely to borrow money to lend to its citizens through a bank controlled by the legislature, composed of a group of politicians.[47] These members recalled that Kentucky and Alabama, as well as Tennessee, had tried this plan and had found it to be bad. Some reasoned, however, that if the state should borrow money

[42]The newly revised constitution of 1834 had declared in favor of a system of internal improvements in the state and for a permanent school fund that was to be inviolate under all conditions and circumstances as to both principal and interest. *Constitution of Tennessee,* 1834, Art. XI, Secs. 9 and 10.

[43]*Acts of Tennessee,* 1837-38, pp. 153-66.

[44]*House Journal,* 1839-40, Appendix, 614-15.

[45]*Ibid.*

[46]*Ibid.,* 845-62, 894-95.

[47]The people considered this stock the pledged good faith of the state and with absolute confidence took the notes of the bank, which, by the act of its incorporation, were receivable at the state treasury, and by all tax collectors and other public officers, in all payments for taxes or other moneys due to the state. Keating, *op. cit.,* I, 203.

and invest it in internal improvements, it would give employment to labor and would also be of permanent benefit to the state. The directors pointed out that the relief features of the bank should be purely temporary; and that its permanent functions should be those of a fiscal agent for the work of improvement.[48]

Felix Grundy, a Democratic leader, wrote D. R. Gooch on January 18, 1838, just after it had become certain that a state bank was to be chartered, stating that this legislation put down in so far, at least, as Tennessee was concerned, most of the arguments previously advanced in favor of a Bank of the United States. He contended that "upon the subject of exchanges, . . . they will regulate themselves fairly and properly, so soon as all exports shall cease in favor of the United States Bank;—and the State Banks shall resume specie payments."[49]

The president and directors of the bank, who exercised supervision over not only the parent bank but also the branches, were required to furnish monthly statements of the condition of the central institution and the branches to the comptroller and to publish quarterly similar statements in some newspaper in the state. These officials had to distribute the bank's discounts as far as was practicable among the several counties of the state according to their voting populations. The legislature was to have the right to inspect all such accounts in the bank as related to the transactions of the principal bank and branches, for which purpose it might appoint a joint committee of the two houses. It was furthermore the duty of the comptroller of the state to inspect all accounts on the books of the bank and its branches as often as he might deem such inspection necessary and to report the result to the legislature. In addition to this he had to make biennial reports to the legislature on the condition of the whole institution.[50]

Since there was a general suspension of specie payments in the state in 1838, the board of directors of the Bank of Tennessee realized the impossibility of issuing notes payable on demand in specie. Thus it had to determine what kind of fiat money it would issue. It hardly considered the proposal that the Bank of Tennessee should issue a circulation ostensibly payable on demand but actually irredeemable until the old banks should have resumed specie payment, as they knew that the opinion prevailed that such a course on the part of a new institution would be impolitic and indeed disreputable.[51] It finally adopted the course which it believed to be the most desirable for the bank and equally acceptable to the community. The bank issued for circulation post notes, payable twelve months after date at the principal bank and branches,

[48] *Senate Journal*, 1837-38, Appendix, 614.
[49] Felix Grundy to D. R. Gooch, January 18, 1838, MS. letter in Tennessee Historical Society Archives, Box G 2, No. 87.
[50] *Senate Journal*, 1837-38, Appendix, 614.
[51] *House Journal*, 1839-40, Appendix, 845-11.

with the published pledge of the bank to redeem them in specie at maturity or at any time after other banks of the state should have resumed specie payments. Thus the officials wisely determined at all times, and under all circumstances, to make the notes of the Bank of Tennessee equal in value and availability to any other paper money issued in the state.

Despite these legislative precautions the new state bank was not able to compete on equal terms with other banks of the state. This was due largely to the enormous burdens which the legislature itself had imposed on it. There was from the beginning a great deal of difficulty in executing that part of the charter of the bank which required it to set aside annually from out of its profits $100,000 for the use of common schools and $18,000 for the support of academies.[52] In addition to this, the state had provided for the issuing of bonds in aid of internal improvements to the aggregate amount of $4,000,000, on which the bank had to pay the interest.[53] Thus, the legislature of 1838, although attempting to pacify the debtor group, instead of mortgaging the state's credit to the debtors as former legislatures had done, mortgaged it to the commercial classes.[54]

It is interesting to note the significant change in sentiment on the subject of banking which had come about in the respective grand divisions of Tennessee between 1820 and 1838. East Tennessee, only slightly affected by the speculation just preceding the panic of 1819, had voted in 1820 solidly against the creation of a debtors' bank.[55] Even as late as 1832 and 1833 it had cast its votes heavily against state banks.[56] By 1838 a change in feeling had occurred. Instead of remaining conservative, this section, lured by the idea of internal improvements, which it felt would bring about its economic salvation, now voted almost unanimously in favor of the Bank and Improvement Act of 1838.[57]

While East Tennessee was becoming more radical or increasingly inclined toward speculative ventures in financial fields, Middle Tennessee was going in the opposite direction. It had been willing to resort to the most questionable financial experiments during the depression of 1819, but no Middle Tennessee legislator even suggested "stay," "property," or "replevin" laws after the crash of 1837. Furthermore, this section, with its comparatively good water transportation, had grown too conservative by 1838 to approve of the creation of a state bank, one of whose main purposes was to promote a system of internal improvements. Therefore it voted almost solidly against its establishment.[58]

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[52] *Ibid.*, 848.
[53] *Acts of Tennessee*, 1837-38, pp. 153-66.
[54] *House Journal*, 1837-38, pp. 323-24.
[55] *Ibid.*, 1820, p. 129.
[56] *Ibid.*, 1832, pp. 133-34; 1833, p. 313.
[57] *Ibid.*, 1837-38, p. 324.
[58] *Ibid.*

West Tennessee, which had not been open to settlement until 1819, had not been in favor of chartering a state bank in 1820.[59] It was willing, however, to accept the Bank of Tennessee in 1838 in order to get the internal improvements provided for in its act of incorporation.[60]

During 1838 and 1839, the subject of the resumption of specie payments by the banks was the general topic of discussion in financial circles throughout the United States. Many of the banks of the eastern cities resumed specie payment during the latter part of 1838 and early in 1839. The other banks of the country determined to follow their lead as quickly as it was possible for them to do so.[61] It was then important, indeed essential, to the welfare of the eastern banks that the banks of the South and Southwest should all unite with them in this move. So great was the anxiety of the eastern banks on the subject that they cashed post notes to a large amount on the pledge of the banks receiving the money to resume specie payments in January, 1839, such banks evidently admitting at the time their inability to resume purely on the basis of their own resources. The consequence of that premature movement in some instances was a second suspension of specie payments on the part of some of the banks accepting such terms. Great embarrassment and an inability to extend accommodations to the citizens on their usual terms followed as a matter of course.

The Bank of Tennessee, along with the other banks located in the state, fell in line with this policy and resumed specie payments from the first Monday in January, 1839, until October of the same year. At that time financial conditions throughout the country at large forced the Tennessee banks, along with practically all the banks in the United States, again to suspend specie payments.[62] An exception to this rule in Tennessee was the Knoxville branch of the Southwestern Railroad Bank, which had opened its doors in February, 1839, as an outgrowth of the grant of banking privileges to the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad in 1837. Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, the president of this institution, managed its affairs so conservatively and efficiently that it was able to maintain specie payments throughout this period.[63]

On October 22, 1839, Governor James K. Polk sent to the legislature a long message concerning the financial condition of the state.[64] The banking capital of the state, which the existing laws and bank charters authorized, was, he said, more than $10,000,000. Since this sum, according to his judgment, was sufficiently large for the existing needs, he discouraged any attempt to increase it. Nevertheless, like his prede-

[59] *Ibid.*, 1820, p. 129.
[60] *Ibid.*, 1837-38, p. 324.
[61] *Ibid.*, 1839-40, Appendix, 815.
[62] *Ibid.*, 1841-42, Appendix, 44.
[63] S. J. Folmsbee, "The Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 5 (Knoxville, 1933), 93, 94, 97.
[64] *House Journal*, 1839-40, pp. 53-60.

cessor William Carroll in 1821, he declared that "the only substantial relief is to be found in the habits of economy, and industry, and the productive labor of our people." He pointed out that under prudent and proper management the existing banks could undoubtedly keep themselves in a sound condition, and at the same time afford all the banking facilities required to enable the citizens of Tennessee to ship their crops to market, to advance a reasonable amount of credit on these products, and to meet all the legitimate demands of the trade within the state. Beyond this, he argued, banks and banking facilities were an evil.

A general resumption of specie payments for the country as a whole and for some of the Tennessee banks did not come until 1843.[65] An examination of the reports[66] which the president of the Bank of Tennessee, Mr. Felix Robertson, sent to the General Assembly in that year, reveals the fact that the bank had continued promptly for the two preceding years not only to meet all the liabilities imposed upon it by its charter without infringing upon its capital, but also to establish a small surplus. The profits of the institution for 1843, however, were below the average amount of the three preceding years. This diminution was caused by the contraction of the discounts and business of the bank. This policy of contraction was the result of a resolution of the legislature making it the duty of the bank to resume specie payments again on January 1, 1843. From this time on for several years all of the Tennessee banks, especially the Bank of Tennessee, were prosperous.

Banking and finance in Tennessee prior to 1836 had developed along with the general growth of trade and commerce. The "wild cat" system of bank note issues with little or no backing, coupled with widespread speculation in land, caused values to become inflated in the state as well as elsewhere throughout the nation. When the demand for specie in payment of debts and commodities confronted the people they naturally turned to the banks for the desired currency. The banks, obviously unable to redeem their notes in specie, necessarily had to suspend payments for the time being. This caused their bank notes to depreciate in the hands of their holders. No one, therefore, escaped entirely the destructive operations of the "wild cat" system of banking and the immense speculations which it had fostered. The depression very quickly swept away the inflationary structure of paper, wiped out fortunes, destroyed public trust and confidence, and so paralyzed the business and commercial energies of the people of the state that they did not recover entirely from its shocking effects until the Mexican War.

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[65] *Ibid.*, 1843-44, p. 3.
[66] *Ibid.*, 3-6.

JAMES K. POLK AND TENNESSEE POLITICS, 1839-1841

By Powell Moore

In 1835 a political revolution began in Tennessee, and the Jacksonian party, which had dominated the state in recent years, was driven from power. The opposition party, headed by Hugh Lawson White and John Bell, was successful in electing its gubernatorial candidate, Newton Cannon, in the elections of 1835 and 1837. In the presidential contest of 1836, the White-Bell party carried the state for Hugh Lawson White over Martin Van Buren.[1]

These defeats greatly discouraged the Democratic leaders, and many of them, at the close of 1837, were very pessimistic.[2] The Jackson party was badly disorganized and it was evident that, unless victory were forthcoming in the election of 1839, the White-Bell party, by this time affiliated with the Whigs, would have such a hold on the state that it probably would be impossible to dislodge them for years. General Andrew Jackson was intensely interested in the defeat of his enemies. The loss of the state had been a great humiliation to him, and it appears from a survey of his correspondence that most of his attention during this period, as far as political affairs were concerned, was centered on the redemption of Tennessee. He wrote Van Buren that the "one object of the Republicans in Tennessee was to bring Tennessee back into the Republican fold."[3] Jackson's influence was a great factor in the reorganization of the party and in the conduct of the approaching campaign.

If the Democrats were to redeem Tennessee, it was the consensus of opinion that James K. Polk was the logical man to make the gubernatorial race. It was generally conceded that he alone could restore the state to the Democratic party. Easily the most active man in the party at that time, he was approaching the crisis of his career, and his voluminous correspondence in the Library of Congress is evidence of the extent to which the guided the Democratic machine in Tennessee. He had been in the national House of Representatives fourteen years and

[1]See the author's articles, "The Political Background of the Revolt against Jackson in Tennessee," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (1932), 45-66, and "The Revolt against Jackson in Tennessee, 1835-1836," in *Journal of Southern History,* II (August, 1936), 335-59.

[2]Cave Johnson, who was defeated by Richard Cheatham in the congressional race of 1837, seriously considered moving to Mississippi. Johnson to Polk, August 7, 1837, Papers of James K. Polk, XXVI (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

[3]Jackson to Van Buren, January 17, 1839, Papers of Martin Van Buren, XXXV (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

now realized that, if he expected to go higher in the political world, a change of office was necessary. He had his eye on the vice-presidency, with the presidency as a remote possibility.[4] He no doubt regarded the governorship as a stepping stone to better things. If he could bring Tennessee back into the ranks of the Democracy, his claims on the party in the nation would be strengthened. Polk also realized that the Whigs might control the next House and he did not relish the possibility of his old enemy, John Bell, defeating him for the speakership.[5] If he entered the governor's race, this possible humiliation would be spared him.

There was one obstacle in the path of Polk's nomination for governor by the Democratic party: William Carroll was also desirous of running.[6] Polk, realizing the danger of a split in the party, handled the problem cautiously. He wrote A. O. P. Nicholson that, as Carroll had intimated a desire to run, he was doubtful about acceding to the request of friends that he stand for the nomination also.[7] Nicholson had previously written to Polk suggesting that he seek the vice-presidency. As the former hoped to succeed Polk in Congress, it is evident that the latter believed he could count on Nicholson's influence to have Carroll set aside.

The Nashville *Union* and several of the Democratic leaders were hostile to Carroll's candidacy. The *Union* protested against the action of the Shelbyville *Star,* which placed Carroll at its masthead early in March, 1838, as being premature. There was no hurry, the *Union* declared, to make a choice inasmuch as the wishes of the party should be ascertained first.[8] Alfred Balch, who was quite influential in the party, wrote Polk that Carroll would not do: "He has lost his voice and cannot stump it."[9] This opposition to Carroll was probably sound as he had been before the people too long. What the Democrats needed was a younger and more vigorous leader. The path was cleared for Polk in the summer of 1838 when Carroll was given an Indian appointment by President Van Buren.[10] Carroll passively acquiesced in this action, and the danger of a contest over the nomination was averted.

Polk announced in September, 1838, that he would enter the contest against Governor Cannon, who was (or would be) the Whig candidate. The effect on the party was stimulating. Jackson wrote Frank Blair

[4]Polk to A. O. P. Nicholson, January 13, 1839, Polk Papers, XXIX.

[5]W. S. Haynes to Polk, July 24, 1838, *ibid.,* XXXIII. Bell defeated Polk for the speakership in 1834, and this caused the break between the two Tennesseeans.

[6]Carroll wrote Polk, January 17, 1838: "I am under promise to give Cannon a four months campaign, and I shall fight him without gloves you can rely upon it. I will make him and others ashamed of their position before the battle is over." Polk Papers, XXX.

[7]Polk to Nicholson, June 1, 1838, Polk Papers, XXXII.

[8]Nashville *Union,* March 22, 1838.

[9]Balch to Polk, June 15, 1838, Polk Papers, XXXII.

[10]Nashville *Republican-Banner,* September 5, 1838.

that "there never was a greater change than has taken place in Tennessee."[11] The Democrats were confident that under the leadership of Polk the state could be redeemed.

The announcement elicited a series of attacks on Polk from the Whig press of the state. Much attention was given to the exposition of what were paraded as Polk's real objects in running for governor. The Memphis *Enquirer* declared that he sought the governorship rather than face certain defeat if he undertook to run for Congress again,[12] while the Nashville *Banner* and the Columbia *Observer* pictured him as a political missionary of the Van Buren administration to bring the citizens of Tennessee into the support of the "powers that be."[13] The Nashville *Whig* charged that Polk cared little about the governor's office, and that he was seeking merely to canvass the state in preparation for the election of 1840. We want, it declared, "a Governor to discharge the duties pertaining to the Executive."[14] The coming election of 1840 was thus brought in as one of the issues of the campaign.

The Whigs were not in unison in the selection of Governor Cannon as their candidate. East Tennessee was particularly hostile to the governor. The leading organ of that section, the Knoxville *Register,* charged him with being opposed to internal improvements.[15] The *Republican Banner* vigorously denied this and lamented the fact that the party was not in harmony on the candidate.[16] It is possible that Cannon's refusal to call a special session of the legislature in the summer of 1838 to consider a new apportionment of the branches of the state bank, injured him in the eastern section, which was not satisfied with the location of the existing branch banks.[17] There is also some evidence that John Bell was not any too enthusiastic over the selection of Cannon. Early in the campaign he wrote Henry Clay: "Our Governor Cannon is too sluggish and self-sufficient or we might do better."[18] Since a leader

[11]Jackson to Blair, September 27, 1838, in the Papers of Andrew Jackson, CI (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

[12]Memphis *Enquirer,* September 21, 1838.

[13]Nashville *Republican-Banner,* September 11, 1838. The Columbia *Observer,* September 21, 1838, also declared that Polk hoped to obtain the vice-presidential nomination in 1840, as a reward for restoring the state to the Democrats.

[14]Nashville *Whig,* October 12, 1838.

[15]Excerpt from the Knoxville *Register,* quoted in the Nashville *Whig,* December 3, 1838.

[16]Nashville *Republican-Banner,* December 6, 1838.

[17]The title of the bank bill, "To Establish a State Bank, to raise a fund for Internal Improvements, and to aid in the establishment of a system of Education," indicates how internal improvements were linked with the state bank. See *Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1837-38, pp. 153-66, for the provisions of the bill. Many mass meetings were held in East Tennessee protesting against the location of the branch banks. These banks were located at Rogersville and Athens in East Tennessee; Shelbyville, Columbia and Clarksville in Middle Tennessee; and at Trenton and Somerville in West Tennessee. See the Nashville *Union* and the Nashville *Whig* for the month of June, 1838, for accounts of these meetings.

[18]Bell to Clay, May 21, 1839, Papers of Henry Clay, XXII (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

so powerful as Bell was not completely satisfied with Cannon, it is possible that the Whigs did not campaign as vigorously as they should have.

In 1838, the problem of an able editor for the Nashville *Union* again vexed the Democratic leaders. John O. Bradford, who had taken Samuel H. Laughlin's place in 1837, was clearly incompetent. U. H. Smith, the owner of the Union, wrote Polk that a new editor was necessary, and placed the responsibility of finding one on the shoulders of the candidate.[19] Polk, realizing that his political future was at stake, and convinced that an able editor was necessary if victory was to be gained, stirred himself to action. After a search of several months, he selected Jeremiah George Harris, editor of the *Bay State Democrat* of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and persuaded him to become the pilot of the Union.[20] Harris took charge of the organ on February 1, 1839. The new editor, it seems, was the ideal man for the position. His rough and vigorous style instilled new life and enthusiasm in the Democratic forces of the state. A study of the Tennessee papers of this period warrants the conclusion that, with the exception of the inimitable Parson Brownlow, no Whig editor in the state could cope with the new man in charge of the *Union*. He must be given much credit for Polk's success in the approaching campaign.

It was apparent as early as 1838 that the state contest of 1839 would be the first skirmish of the presidential battle of 1840. Tennessee was a doubtful state and a victory in the state election by either party, so the leaders thought, would have much influence on the presidential contest.

Prejudice, dating from the bargain charge of 1825, was strong against Henry Clay in Tennessee, where many Whigs as well as Democrats were still personally loyal to General Jackson. Furthermore, as the Democrats realized, the Tennessee Whigs had little in common, so far as principles were concerned, with the great Kentuckian. The establishment of the state bank in 1838 had settled the cry for a national bank, and the people were still expecting great things from the state program of internal improvements inaugurated at the same time. Thus the best strategy for the Democrats was to picture the Whig leaders as attempting to convert the people to the principles of Clay and transfer them into the camp of Federalism. Although Martin Van Buren was not popular in Tennessee, the Democratic leaders felt sure that when it came to a choice between him and Clay, the people would support Van Buren. What the Democratic leaders failed to see was that Polk with his great ability and local popularity would swing more votes into the Democratic column than Van Buren. This blinded them to a certain extent in their calculations concerning the election of 1840.

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[19]Smith to Polk, March 10, 1838, Polk Papers, XXX.

[20]Polk to Harris, December 27, 1838, *ibid.*, XXXVI. Harris accepted Polk's offer of $1500 per year.

The Democrats, in January, 1838, carefully investigated the political attitude of the state legislature toward Clay and Van Buren. A. O. P. Nicholson declared that "one member of the House of Representatives has taken pains to ascertain this relative strength and that he finds 62 in favor of Van Buren and 12 in favor of Clay."[21] The majority of both branches, according to Nicholson, was decidedly anti-Clay.

Polk made a speaking tour of the western counties in the fall of 1838 for the purpose of ascertaining the feeling there. He was convinced that the people would not support Clay, and on his return wrote Jackson that the "people cannot and will not be transferred to the support of Clay or any man of his politics."[22] Amos Kendall visited Jackson at the Hermitage in the fall of 1838 and was impressed with the shrewdness of the Democracy in bringing Clay into the contest.[23]

The Whigs, by portraying Polk's candidacy for governor as a step toward the vice-presidency and by declaring that he was merely a missionary of the Van Buren administration, were equally responsible for the contest being fought on national issues. It appears that they also desired that the campaign be waged with the presidency in 1840 as the stake. The Whig leaders and press were clearly for Clay, although there is some doubt as to the attitude of the rank and file of the party. As early as July, 1838, the Nashville *Whig* began to boost the Kentuckian for the highest honor in the land.[24]

The Whigs were very careful not to expose the principles of the Clay wing of the party. The real issue in 1840, the *Banner* declared, would not be the protective tariff, internal improvements or the United States Bank, but the currency question.[25] There were false charges, it added, being made against Clay. The Whig organs took great pains to convince the people that Clay was safe on the questions of internal improvements, distribution of proceeds of public land sales, and the tariff. The sub-treasury system, which was unpopular in Tennessee, provided the Whigs with a good defense against the attacks of their opponents on the policy of establishing a new Bank of the United States. They were careful not to advocate a bank but professed to see a greater monster in the sub-treasury system.[26]

State issues, strange to say, were kept in the background in this campaign. The dissatisfaction aroused over the location of the branches of the state bank no doubt prompted the Whigs to keep their program along that line under cover. On the other hand, the Democrats, realizing that the people were in sympathy with the internal improvement

[21]Nicholson to Polk, January 2, 1938, *ibid.*, XXIX.
[22]Polk to Jackson, October 29, 1838, Jackson Papers, CI.
[23]Kendall to Van Buren, November 6, 1838, Van Buren Papers, XXXIII.
[24]Nashville *Whig*, July 9, 1838.
[25]Nashville *Republican-Banner*, August 17, 1838.
[26]*Ibid.*, October 12, 1838.

program of their opponents, preferred not to agitate that question. As for the state bank, since it was firmly tied up with the internal improvement program, it could not be attacked without affecting the other issue. Polk did take a stand, however, on the internal improvement question. Although unsympathetic with the Whig program, he was not violently so: "My opinions are favorable to a liberal system, such a system as would bring the resources of the State efficiently in aid of individual enterprise in the construction of permanently useful works." Concerning the banks in the state, he was in favor of strict state supervision, and he indicated at the same time a belief that specie payments should be resumed.[27] It was the old program of the Democrats. It was Polk's policy to refrain as far as possible from committing himself on state issues. The Whigs did not contest, to any great degree, the above issues with their opponents.

Polk returned to Tennessee immediately after the adjournment of Congress in March, 1839, to open his campaign. He took the advice of Alfred Balch that he "should return through East Tennessee as there are a great many of the White party there who do not like Cannon."[28] He took the opportunity, as Jackson had done several years before, to speak in the principal towns along his route. In April he formally opened his campaign by publishing a long and able "Address to the People of Tennessee." The "Address" dealt almost entirely with national issues and the principles of the two great political parties. A considerable portion was devoted to Clay and the policies advocated by that leader. The administration of Jackson was highly praised. He reminded the White-Bell men that they had supported Judge White because the latter had been represented as a better "Jackson man" than Van Buren; consequently, there was no reason why they should not return to the old party. He, himself, was still the champion of the old Jacksonian principles. He threw out his challenge:

> In what have I changed? I oppose Henry Clay on account of his odious Federal principles, and his coalition with Mr. Adams, and I still oppose him. I opposed the high tariff policy, and I oppose it still. I opposed internal improvements by the General Government, and I oppose them still. I supported the movement to remove the deposits, and I have not changed my opinion in relation to that great measure. In fine, what single point is there, involving the principles of the great Republican party, in which my course has not been uniform since 1825?[29]

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[27] James K. Polk, *Address to the People of Tennessee*, Columbia, April 8, 1839, p. 25 (Pamphlet in the Library of Congress).

[28] Balch to Polk, June 15, 1838, Polk Papers, XXXII.

[29] Polk, *Address, loc. cit.* The Nashville *Union*, April 10, 11 and 15, 1839, published the complete address.

This was a courageous stand on Polk's part as many of the policies for which he stood had become unpopular in Tennessee. In the "Address" he again passed lightly over state issues.

Cannon and Polk stumped the state together. In this plan of campaign, the advantage was all on the side of Polk. Cannon was a poor speaker and his delivery was slow and ponderous. Polk, on the other hand, was one of the best stump speakers of his day. He was skilled in the use of sarcasm and ridicule, and a master of the art of popular debate. He was a younger man than Cannon and therefore more able to endure the hardships of a strenuous campaign than his opponent.

Cannon came out openly for Clay after being pressed on that point by Polk. He also attacked the administration of Van Buren, pictured his opponent as being subservient to the "tyrannical Jackson," and appealed to the people on the score of his own military record in all his speeches.[30] His great weakness was the lack of a constructive program, while at the same time, in this type of campaign, Polk clearly had the advantage over him.

This contest marked the entrance of William G. Brownlow, better known as "Parson" Brownlow, on the stage of Tennessee politics. His career was spectacular. A man of strong prejudices, he injected into Tennessee politics a partisan element hitherto unknown. He was the most vigorous editor in the state, and his paper was one of the most powerful organs of the Whig party in Tennessee. Brownlow plunged into the campaign with that fervor so characteristic of his entire career. Polk's principal business, he declared, was to "slander the character, and basely misrepresent the political conduct of Henry Clay . . . in the performance of the dirty work assigned him by a dirty administration, under the circumstances as foul as the principles that govern him."[31] Earlier, Brownlow had declared that the "game which Colonel Polk is playing is a deep one. The Governor's office is but the die, the presidency is the stake."[32]

Cannon faltered in the closing days of the campaign and his place on the stump was taken by John Bell. In the latter Polk found a bitter adversary who combatted him with great ability. He wrote his wife that "Cannon and I got on very harmoniously" but that there was little harmony in his relations with Bell.[33] However, even Bell could not stem the slight but steady current which had set in against Cannon, and on August 1, Polk was elected by a majority of 2,566 votes.[34]

[30]Jackson to Kendall, April 19, 1839, Jackson Papers, CI. Cannon accused Jackson of purposely exposing him to danger in the Creek War.

[31]Elizabethton *Whig,* June 13, 1839. Brownlow was a Methodist minister. In 1838, he established at Elizabethton, in East Tennessee, the Elizabethton *Whig.* In 1840, he moved to Jonesborough where he edited the Jonesborough *Whig.* In 1849, he established the Knoxville *Whig* in that city.

[32]*Ibid.,* May 29, 1839.

[33]Polk to Mrs. Polk, April 14, 1839, Polk Papers, XXXVIII.

[34]*Tribune Almanac,* 1840 (New York, 1842).

In this election the voters reversed the figures of 1835, 1836 and 1837. The Democratic party had been handicapped by weak and unpopular candidates in those contests. A candidate like Polk was able to bring out the Democratic vote, and prove that, with great exertion, the state could again be carried by the Democrats. The Whig defeat indicated more distinctly than former elections the location of the principal strongholds of the party. Cannon's strength in West Tennessee was centered around Memphis and Jackson, the two leading towns of that section. In Middle Tennessee he carried the Cumberland basin, with Nashville as its center, by an increased vote over 1837. In East Tennessee he lost much of the strength that White had formerly brought to his support; with few exceptions the Whigs carried only the counties around Knoxville.[35] Polk succeeded in restoring the Democratic party as a real factor in Tennessee politics.

This election marked the return of Andrew Johnson to public life, and the appearance for the first time of James Chamberlain Jones, better known as "Lean Jimmy," on the stage of Tennessee politics. Johnson was more in harmony with the Democrats on the issue of internal improvements, which had caused his defeat in his effort to retain a seat in the legislature in 1837. Remembering that experience, however, he moderated his tone on that policy during the campaign of 1839, and even in the legislature after his victory.[36] "Lean Jimmy" Jones opened a career in this legislative campaign that carried him, in later years, to the governor's chair twice, and into the Senate of the United States. He became Polk's particular nemesis. Along with Brownlow, Jones was one of the most colorful leaders of the Whig party in Tennessee. He was a true representative of the Whig school of "log cabin, hard cider" politics.[37]

The surprising victory of the Democrats in 1839, after three successive defeats, necessitates a detailed analysis of the vote as well as of the causes of the Whig reverse. A comparison of the vote of 1839 with that of 1837 reveals some startling figures. The Whig total in 1839 was only 1,365 less than that of 1837, while the Democratic gain over the vote of that year was 20,994.[38] The greatest Whig loss was

[35] *Ibid.* The Democrats won a majority of both houses of the legislature. In the congressional contests the Whigs won 7 of the 13 seats. John Bell was able to retain his seat.

[36] Oliver P. Temple, a contemporary of Johnson, declared that Johnson was a Whig in 1837. In 1839, as the Whigs already had a candidate for the legislature in Johnson's district, the latter entered the contest as a "Calhoun Democrat." See Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee* (New York, 1912), 368. Also Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1928), 33.

[37] Jones was 6 feet, 2 inches tall and weighed only 125 lbs. After a quarrel with Brownlow in 1845, the two became bitter enemies. Jones was a storm center in Tennessee politics.

[38] Votes of the two elections: 1837—53,479 (Whig), 33,606 (Democrat).
1839—52,114 (Whig), 54,680 (Democrat).
Figures are from the *Tribune Almanac,* 1840.

in Middle Tennessee, which was also the section where the Democrats made their greatest gain. In East Tennessee the Whigs suffered no great loss in the number of votes cast as compared with 1837, while the Democrats made a substantial gain. This was also true of the Western District. The Democratic victory was due to the fact that the total vote increased, with that party obtaining the increase. A great part of the increase must have been due to the interest in the contest.

The Memphis *Enquirer* was impressed with this vote and gave what was probably the true interpretation of it. It advanced the following analysis:

> Where have these new recruits under the banner of locofocoism come from? Many of them are "new born" citizens, manufactured for the day and the occasion; but it cannot be questioned that the great mass of them are *bona fide* legal voters. They are the men from the deep gorges of the hills and mountains, and by the side of the creeks, in the far-off corners of the counties—who take no newspapers and come not into the towns. These are the men—honest but uninformed on the political affairs of the country, and easily led astray by the artful demagogues. . . . Into every one of their houses has been thrown some locofoco newspaper, pamphlet or handbill, while not one in ten have seen a printed defense of Whig principles.[39]

It seems that Polk convinced the men of the back-country areas that banks and internal improvements were not for them. The magic of Jackson's name also had never died out among the men of the hills, and the Democrats, by bringing Clay into the contest, made it appear that the opposition movement had been an anti-Jackson affair. It appears that Laughlin was right when he wrote Polk that he was the "hero of the achievement."[40]

The evidence at hand indicates that the Whig defeat was due to the following causes: a deep-seated prejudice among Tennesseeans against Henry Clay; the ability of Polk and the weakness of Cannon; overconfidence and apathy on the part of the Whigs; the successful association, by Polk and other Democratic leaders, of the Whig party in the state with the national party led by Clay and with Clay's principles, which were unpopular in Tennessee.[41] It was a triumph and when the legislature met in the fall of 1839, the Democrats had control of both houses.

The Democrats, however, were not content with their victory in the August elections. As the Whigs still had a majority of the delegation to the national House of Representatives, Hugh Lawson White and

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[39]Memphis *Enquirer*, August 23, 1839.

[40]Laughlin to Polk, August 10, 1839, Polk Papers, XXXIX.

[41]Memphis *Enquirer*, August 12, 1839. Bell thought that over-confidence was responsible for the defeat. See Bell to S. H. Sneed, September 7, 1839, in Nashville *Republican-Banner*, October 4, 1839.

Ephraim H. Foster, the two Whig United States senators, must be driven from office or the Democratic victory would be only local. The control of both houses of the legislature made this possible for the Democrats. Foster had written a letter in July stating that if the Democrats elected a majority of both houses of the legislature he would resign.[42] His opponents, therefore, considered him as pledged to give up his seat. In White's case, the Democrats realized the problem must be solved differently. His opposition to the sub-treasury system,[43] and his well-known attitude toward the right of the legislature to instruct its senators, presented his enemies with a plan of action. Instructions could be used to get rid of him. The peculiar conditions surrounding Foster's election in 1837,[44] and the great hostility to White stimulated the desire of their enemies to drive them from the Senate.

General Jackson hailed the result of the election with great satisfaction, and saw in it the opportunity to drive his old friend and recent enemy, White, from public life. Almost immediately after the election Jackson declared that "Judge White must resign, or he will feel the weight of instructions to a Senator clubed [*sic.*] over his head."[45] Polk agreed with the general, and declared that, as public pledges had been given, there would be one and probably two vacancies to fill in the Senate.[46] He was more cautious, however, than Jackson.

The Whigs seem to have expected that action would be taken against their senators. To a certain degree they had brought it on themselves two years before when they had attempted to instruct Grundy out of the Senate. Brownlow, however, had vigorously denied at that time that the legislature had the constitutional right to force a resignation in that manner.[47] The editor of the *Republican-Banner* thought that some good might be derived by the Whigs from such an action, and that if White and Foster were driven from the Senate it would react against the Democrats.[48]

Cave Johnson was afraid his party might over-shoot the mark if plans against the Whig senators were carried out. He believed that the program of persecution would do the Democrats more harm than good and urged Polk to oppose it. He pointed out to Polk the bad effect of mak-

[42]*Niles' Register,* LVI (July 27, 1839), 337.

[43]The sub-treasury bill had been the occasion of a clash between Grundy and White in the Senate during the second session of the 25th Congress. See White's attack on Grundy in *Cong. Globe,* 25 Cong., 2 Sess., Appendix, 509-11.

[44]Foster was chosen in 1837 to take Grundy's place, although the latter's term did not expire until 1839. Grundy resigned to enter Van Buren's cabinet, and the Democrats professed to believe that the Whigs had driven him from the Senate.

[45]Jackson to Van Buren, August 12, 1839, Van Buren Papers, XXXVI.

[46]Polk to Jackson, August 12, 1839, Jackson Papers, CII.

[47]Elizabethton *Whig,* September 12, 1839.

[48]Nashville *Republican-Banner,* September 7, 1839.

ing martyrs out of White and Foster.[49] This was good advice. The Democrats, however, chose to make the most of their political power. Their choice gave them a temporary advantage, but in the end their harsh treatment of White and Foster helped to transfer votes from their own party to that of their opponents.

The Democrats put their plans into operation almost immediately after the legislature met. On October 25, a series of resolutions, among them being one instructing the senators to vote for the sub-treasury bill, were proposed.[50] They were passed by a strict party vote on November 8. Foster resigned his seat seven days later.

The problem of a suitable successor to Foster worried the Democrats for some time. One wing of the party supported William Carroll for the place, while Polk felt that Felix Grundy was the logical choice. Polk realized fully that the affair might react against his party and, as an attempt had been made to drive Grundy from the Senate in 1837, after which he accepted the office of attorney-general, it could be claimed that he was merely being restored to his rightful place. Grundy demurred at first, as he evidently preferred to stand for election to the Senate in 1841. Polk, however, was successful in impressing upon him and Van Buren how essential it was for the success of the party that he accept.[51] The legislature elected Grundy by a strict party vote and he took his seat in Congress in December, 1839.

The Democrats next turned their attention to White. The judge had decided to stay in the Senate until some subject specifically mentioned in the resolutions adopted by the legislature should come before the Senate. The Democrats, therefore, hastened to bring forward a measure that would drive White from his seat. Polk wrote Thomas H. Benton urging him to have the sub-treasury bill brought forward at once. This was done.[52] On January 13, 1840, Silas Wright, of New York, called up the sub-treasury bill and thereby forced the issue. White immediately tendered his resignation. The judge's resignation and closing remarks were typical of the dignity of the man.[53] He no doubt regarded himself as a martyr to the cause of his party.

White's forced resignation brought forth a storm of indignation from the Whig papers in Tennessee. Parson Brownlow regarded the treatment of the senator as "disgraceful to any State. What has the virtuous White done that he should thus be villainously driven from office. . . . He has refused to bow the knee to the image and superscrip-

[49]Johnson to Polk, September 28, 1839, Polk Papers, XXXIII. Through an error of the editor this letter was bound in the volume for 1838.

[50]These resolutions may be found in the *Congressional Globe,* 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 116-117.

[51]Polk to Jackson, August 12, 1839, Polk Papers, XXXIX; Polk to Van Buren, November 11, 1839, Van Buren Papers, XL.

[52]Benton to Polk, December 5, 1839, Polk Papers, XLI.

[53]See *Cong. Globe,* 26 Cong., 1 Sess., 116-117.

tion of Andrew Jackson, in the person of Martin Van Buren."[54] A correspondent of the Knoxville *Times* described White's resignation and declared: "Had the old farmers of Knox, had the people of Tennessee witnessed the scene, how would their eyes have flashed with virtuous indignation, and their lips muttered of future revenge."[55] White's death, a few months later, did not lessen but enhanced the effect of the Democratic blunder, as many Whigs attributed it to the persecution suffered at the hands of his opponents.

In view of subsequent events, the conclusion is justified that the Democrats were guilty of a fatal blunder in forcing the resignation of White. They had made a martyr out of the defeated Whig leader and they suffered the consequences of it in the next election. It is difficult to understand how Polk, with his ability and foresight as a politician, could have been so blind to the consequences of such a course. Public sentiment was clearly with the Democrats in August, 1839, but, due to their unwise course in regard to the senators, it began to turn against them before Polk's term had hardly begun. He had by his part in this partisan move placed himself at a great disadvantage.[56]

The Democratic party found itself, for the first time in five years, in complete control of the state government in Tennessee. Many changes had occurred and new policies had been inaugurated in the state since the Jackson party had been driven from power. During these years the Democratic party had played the part of vigorous opposition. Now that they were in power there was much conjecture as to their program. In view of the utterances of Polk during the recent campaign, it was generally expected that some changes would be made in the program established by the Whigs. The state had not recovered from the panic of 1837, and the extent to which the Democrats could afford relief to the people would, no doubt, determine their success in the future.

Although the campaign of 1839 had been fought mainly on national issues, it was the opinion among some of the Democratic leaders that their party must rise or fall according to its attitude toward the banking and internal improvements program of 1838. Alfred Balch warned Polk before he was inaugurated that the success of his administration would depend on his management of the institutions established by the Whigs. It was also the opinion of James Walker, one of Polk's closest friends and a shrewd politician, that not only the future of the party was involved, but Polk's future prospects as well.[57] These warnings,

[54]Elizabethton *Whig*, February 6, 1840.

[55]Nancy Scott (ed.), *A Memoir of Hugh Lawson White* (Philadelphia, 1856), 390-91.

[56]Alexander Anderson, an East Tennessee lawyer of fair ability but a man with no national reputation, was elected to White's seat. His obscureness probably appealed to Polk.

[57]Balch to Polk, September 3, 1839, Polk Papers; Walker to Polk, Ocober 15, 1839, *ibid.*

no doubt, weighed heavily on Polk's mind, and, as will be seen, political considerations, to a great extent, guided Polk and his party in their program.

It appears that the Whigs, generally speaking, by the fall of 1839 were convinced that the Banking and Internal Improvement Law of 1838 had failed to live up to their expectations. Certain features of it had reacted against them in the recent campaign, and they were glad to be relieved of the responsibility for its execution. Governor Cannon in his last message to the legislature, in October, 1839, declared that the "Bank had failed to effect the amelioration of our pecuniary affairs that its authors anticipated. . . . There is probably no law to be found among our statutes that has more signally failed to fulfill the wishes of the Legislature."[58] He recommended a revision of the law, a more satisfactory location of the branches of the state bank, and praised the work done by private incorporated companies in internal improvements. The school system, he stated, although some progress had been made, had suffered from its association with the bank, and there was much dissatisfaction and complaint about its management.[59] While the Democratic legislature could not be expected to follow his recommendations, nevertheless, the Whigs were taking this opportunity to "wash their hands" of the program for the time being at least.

Polk's first message was submitted to the legislature on October 22, and the subjects most emphasized in it were banking and internal improvements. He expressed the belief that there had been no necessity for the suspension of specie payments by the banks of Tennessee and urged immediate resumption. It was the debtor and laboring classes, he asserted, that were suffering from suspension. As a remedy for the depression he did not seek new legislation but thought the practice of economy by the state and people would solve the problem. He declared himself strongly in favor of internal improvements by the state. He asked, however, that existing laws on the subject be modified so as to prevent extravagance, and that a board of public works be created to authorize and supervise internal improvement enterprises. Concerning the subject of education, he had very little to say except that measures

[58]Complete message published in the Nashville *Union*, October 3, 1839. Cannon described the condition of the bank and the operation of the law. Only $1,000,000 of the $2,500,000 capital had been subscribed. The stock in the branch banks belonging to the common school fund had not been sold, and the same was true of the $300,000 in bonds for river improvements.

[59]The bank had been unable to make the required payment of $100,000 per year to the public schools. In addition to that, Robert H. McEwen, superintendent of public instruction, had defaulted for the amount of $123,000. His report was presented to the legislature at this time. While investigations absolved him from any act of dishonesty, the affair embarrassed the Whigs. See Nashville *Union*, October 23, 1839, and A. P. Whitaker, "The Public School System of Tennessee, 1834-1860," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, II (1916), 12-17.

should be taken to secure a stricter accountability of the officers in charge of public funds.[60]

The message clearly indicated that no broad or vigorous policies were contemplated by Polk, and that he would be content to correct the existing abuses in the system established by the Whigs. He would modify, not change completely, what had been established. His political ambitions appear to have been the determining influence in the course he adopted while governor. His political future depended to a large extent on the continuation of the Democratic party in power in Tennessee, and he could not afford to lose what he had gained, by the adoption of an extensive program. Practical politics, instead of a strict determination to inaugurate and carry out policies, appears to have been the determining factor in his course at this time.

The Whigs were disappointed at the attitude taken by Polk. They had hoped for a positive program which would react in favor of their party. The attitude of the Democrats toward resumption, after Polk's recommendation, elicited much criticism and opposition from the Whigs. The failure of a bill to instruct the Bank of Tennessee to resume specie payments caused the *Republican-Banner* to charge the Democrats with inconsistency. They never intended to resume, the Whig paper declared.[61] In a later issue the *Republican-Banner* demanded that the Democrats take a definite stand on the resumption question, declaring that the Whigs were ready to resume. It was not fair to keep the banks and the people in a state of uncertainty. The banks could not facilitate the movement of the crops for fear that they might be called upon to resume in the midst of the harvest season. The Democrats were urged to adopt a bill requiring Tennessee banks to resume specie payments within sixty days after the banks of Philadelphia had resumed.[62] It appears that the Whigs were goading the Democrats on to adopt that uncertain course.

The Democrats finally, due no doubt to the persistence of the Whigs, adopted a bill instructing the Bank of Tennessee to resume provided the Union Bank and the Planters' Bank would do likewise. The object of the bill, according to the editor of the *Republican-Banner,* was to make a "great splurge about resumption, and then clog the resolution with a proviso that the majority—the real Simon pure specie payment gentlemen—knew and intended to prevent immediate resumption."[63]

James Walker was alarmed lest the Democrats should adopt a measure to resume. He professed to see in the demands of the Whigs a scheme to ruin his party. He wrote Polk that "if bank measures are

[60] See Nashville *Union,* October 23, 1839, for the message.
[61] Nashville *Republican-Banner,* October 30, 1839.
[62] *Ibid.,* November 6, 1839. The banks of Philadelphia did not resume until March, 1842.
[63] *Ibid.,* November 9, 1839.

adopted, forcing them to wind up, the country must be ruined, and I think Democratic ascendancy destroyed. . . . No action is certainly best. . . ."[64] This letter, with its portrayal of the political effects of resumption, no doubt convinced Polk that his future prospects would be seriously menaced by such a course.

The Democrats, however, did correct some of the abuses in the banking system, and made an effort to put it on a sound, as well as a profitable, basis. This course probably was prompted by the realization that since they were in control of the bank, any blame or credit for its failure or success would in the future be given to them. Early in 1840, a branch of the bank was established at Sparta,[65] thereby quieting the clamor of that section for a better banking service. This move would have a tendency to draw the people of that section, it was hoped, to the support of Polk's party, as the Whigs had denied them a branch.

The internal improvement features of the law of 1838 had been opposed from the beginning by a majority of the Democrats. They now proceeded to modify that law with a view to preventing "extravagant" expenditure, and also with the object of relieving the bank of the enormous burden which was gradually being piled on it from that source. There were many abuses existing under the operation of the original law. Charters of incorporation had been too readily granted, and works of no importance had been undertaken for the purpose of getting state aid.[66] The Democrats sought to strike a blow at the very source of the evil.

An act was passed on January 25, 1840, repealing all laws authorizing the governor to subscribe on behalf of the state for stock in internal improvement companies. There would be no interference, however, with works already commenced and now carried on in good faith, and which, after investigation, were shown to be in good financial condition. The act provided legal remedies for the state in cases where good faith had not been preserved toward it by private companies.[67] This threat of legal action caused several companies to surrender their charters. The act was a sound and constructive bit of legislation, and it saved the state from the immediate accumulation of a great debt.

This action of the Democrats appears to have met with at least the tacit approbation of the Whigs. There was no criticism of it in the Whig papers, as that party must have realized that the people as a whole would benefit from such a program. In the legislature, a majority of the Whigs voted for the bill. The management of the bank and the currency prob-

[64]Walker to Polk, December 30, 1839, Polk Papers, XLII.

[65]*Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1839-40, p. 152 (January 21, 1840). This new district was composed of the counties of White, Jackson, Overton, Fentress, Bledsoe, Van Buren and Warren. Overton, Warren, and Fentress were the only ones normally Democratic.

[66]Nashville *Union,* January 3, 1840.

[67]Nashville *Republican-Banner,* January 26, 1840.

lem were the rocks upon which the Whigs hoped their opponents would wreck their ship.

As soon as the results of the election of 1839 were known, the Whigs, though momentarily stunned by their defeat, made preparations to regain the state in the next election. The Whig set-back was a great disappointment for Bell. He wrote W. B. Campbell of the seriousness of their situation: "I tell our friends here that we must advise with our friends over the state before we act. If we cannot act in concert it will be useless to act at all. I am done, done as a public man unless we can have some better understanding with each other."[68]

The work was begun at once, and in September, Clay was informed that "the counties are organizing by the appointment of committees and when they are all organized . . . victory is certain."[69] A convention was held in Nashville in the same year, and it was marked by great enthusiasm on the part of the Whigs. They were desperately in earnest, and, as far as they were concerned, the campaign of 1840 began immediately after the election of 1839.

Due to prejudice against the convention system, the Whigs of Tennessee refused to send delegates to the national Whig convention at Harrisburg. The Tennessee leaders, having their hearts set on Clay, were greatly disappointed and even discouraged when William Henry Harrison received the nomination. They soon rallied, however, and threw themselves into the campaign with great enthusiasm. Since Harrison was nominated on no platform it was easy for the Tennessee Whigs to support him. The type of campaign made possible by Harrison's nomination appealed to the fancy of Tennessee, and it is doubtful whether raccoons, log cabins, and hard cider were more popular in any other state.

It was generally known throughout Tennessee in 1838 and 1839 that Polk had his eyes on the vice-presidency in 1840. The Whigs had charged in the recent campaign that his success in obtaining the nomination was dependent on his ability to restore Tennessee to the Democratic party. Polk, himself, was anxious for the nomination, and the predictions of the Whigs were proved when, on November 4, 1839, the legislature formally nominated him as the running mate of Van Buren in the approaching contest.[70]

Realizing that it would be difficult to obtain the nomination for Polk over Richard M. Johnson, the incumbent, the Democratic leaders in Tennessee made a united effort to attain their end. Jackson wrote Blair that "with Polk as a candidate for vice-president, we will carry the state

[68]Bell to W. B. Campbell, August 10, 1839, in *Tennessee Historical Magazine, III* (1917), 201-202.

[69]Allan A. Hall to Clay, September 23, 1839, Clay Papers, XXII.

[70]Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk, A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), 159. Alfred Balch wrote Polk that he thought it best for him to be nominated by some other state. He doubted the feasibility of action by the Tennessee legislature. Balch to Polk, September 3, 1839, Polk Papers, XL.

with a triumphant majority . . . you know my kind feelings for Colonel Johnson . . . still the people of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi will not sustain him. . . . I like Colonel Johnson but I like my country more."[71] The Nashville *Union* denied that Polk could not be spared from Tennessee and asserted that upon his choice as vice-presidential candidate the fate of the Democratic party in the state depended. All pressure possible was brought to bear on the national Democratic leaders to unite on Polk at the Baltimore convention.[72]

Polk made it clear to the Tennessee delegates to the Baltimore convention that in no event would he run as a sectional candidate, as Judge White had done in 1836. Should Johnson be nominated, he would earnestly support him. Should no nomination be made at Baltimore, and within a reasonable length of time a sufficient number of states had not come to his own support, Polk would take the field in favor of any candidate that might bring success to his party.[73]

The Tennessee delegation to the Baltimore convention, headed by Grundy, Carroll, Cave Johnson, and Laughlin, doubted the wisdom of presenting Polk's claims to that body. Since they believed that Blair and Benton could not be trusted, it was their opinion that it would have been better for Polk had no convention been held. They preferred to trust Polk's prospects for the office to the Senate, which would have the duty of electing the vice-president in case of a disputed election.[74] As Carroll was the permanent chairman of the Baltimore convention, it is possible that the Tennessee delegation was responsible, in a large degree, for the decision of that body not to name a running mate for Van Buren. The resolution adopted, however, provided for the choice to be made at the discretion of the electors, instead of by the Senate as the Tennesseeans had hoped. While Polk may have been disappointed at not getting the out-right nomination, he agreed to the arrangement and prepared to wage his campaign along the lines thus set down.

Polk was prevented by his duties as governor from actively entering the campaign, although he did make a few speeches for Van Buren. It appears that by the middle of the summer he became convinced that he could not attain the vice-presidency that year. On July 4, he publicly declined running for the office and announced himself as a candidate for reëlection as governor in 1841.[75] This was prompted by vari-

[71]Jackson to Blair, February 15, 1840, Jackson Papers, CIII.

[72]Nashville *Union,* March 3, 1840. Polk was formally nominated by the Tennessee state convention, February 11, 1840. See *Proceedings of the Democratic State Convention,* February 11, 1840 (Pamphlet in Tennessee State Library).

[73]"Diaries of Samuel H. Laughlin," April 15, 1840, in *Tennessee Historcal Magazine,* II (1916), 43-85.

[74]Grundy, McClellan, Turney, Cave Johnson and A. V. Brown to Polk, February 3, 1840, Polk Papers, XLII. See also "Laughlin Diaries," *loc. cit.*

[75]*Niles' Register,* LVIII (August 1, 1840), 346. This announcement was made in a speech at Knoxville.

ous reasons. He was familiar with Tennessee politics and probably realized that the tide was turning against his party there. He could see that he would stand little chance of being chosen vice-president even if his party should win in the national election, in case Tennessee should be captured by the Whigs. The attitude of Blair and other strong leaders at Washington was unfavorable to him, and no Democrat would have much chance to obtain the vice-presidency without the support of that group. Several years later, when he was in the White House, Polk wrote of Blair's opposition to him: "When I was nominated by the Tennessee Legislature in 1840 . . . he had not even published these proceedings in his paper . . . that numerous other public meetings in different parts of the Union had named me for vice-president and no notice whatever had been taken of this, while similar notices of others were readily inserted in his paper."[76] This systematic neglect of his interests by Blair, Polk declared, continued up to his nomination for the presidency in 1844.

Polk's refusal to continue his campaign for the vice-presidency may have weakened the Van Buren cause in Tennessee. If so, it gave the Whigs an advantage. Van Buren was not popular enough to carry the state alone, and, as has been shown, the Democratic leaders claimed from the beginning that the state could be won only by the placing of Polk on the Democratic ticket.

It is significant that, with the exception of the circulation of a story that Polk's grandfather was a Tory during the Revolutionary War,[77] no attacks were made on the Tennessee leader. Van Buren and Harrison were too attractive as subjects for orators and newspapers for the Whigs to give much attention to Polk, especially after he was definitely out of the vice-presidential race. State issues were not stressed by the Whigs.

The November election resulted in a decisive victory for Harrison in Tennessee, the popular vote for him being 60,391, and for Van Buren, 48,289. The Whigs gained 6,277 votes over their total in 1839, while the Democrats lost 6,391.[78] The two elections proved that either party, if favored with a popular candidate, and if it put forth extraordinary efforts, could carry the state. Tennessee, therefore, indicated that in the future she would be a close state, with the balance in favor of the Whigs.

The election of 1840 disclosed several significant facts as to the political situation in Tennessee. It marked the first open affiliation of the Tennessee Whigs with the national Whig party. That Henry Clay and John J. Crittenden came into the state to aid their brother Whigs

[76]M. M. Quaife (ed.), *Diary of James K. Polk* (Chicago, 1910), I (April 25, 1846), 357.

[77]McCormac, *Polk*, 174.

[78]Election figures from the *Tribune Almanac*, 1840.

is proof that the Tennessee Whigs, regardless of past assertions to the contrary, were definitely enrolled in the Whig party of the nation. The appearance of the two Kentuckians in Tennessee during an election a few years earlier would have been disastrous to the Whig party. It is not too much to say that the campaign of 1840, featured by the log cabin, hard cider, and raccoons, completed the amalgamation of the rank and file of the old White-Bell party with the national Whig party. Appeals to their emotions and enthusiasm, instead of a discussion of policies and principles, clinched the union.

In December, 1840, Felix Grundy, who had left his place in Van Buren's cabinet to enter the Senate in 1839, died. Several of the Tennessee leaders, particularly Cave Johnson, Hopkins L. Turney and Aaron V. Brown, urged Polk to accept the position just vacated by the death of his old colleague. It was pointed out by this group that he stood a better chance for promotion if elected to the Senate, and that his reelection as governor in 1841 was doubtful.[79] As Grundy's term would expire in October, 1841, and as the legislature to be elected in the next contest would have the duty of choosing a new senator, Polk refused. He probably realized that, in view of the Whig victory in 1840, the chances were that they would elect a majority in the legislature in 1841, especially if the Democrats should be deprived of his leadership in the campaign. Polk was looking forward to being in the Senate, but it seems that he felt that he must lead his party to victory in the next election before he could be certain of a full term in that office. On December 19, he appointed A. O. P. Nicholson to occupy the post made vacant by Grundy's death.[80]

From the day of their defeat in 1839, the Whigs, as has been shown, had been organizing their forces for the next gubernatorial contest in 1841. Their recent victory in the national election encouraged them to anticipate another triumph in the approaching state contest. The riotous campaign of 1840, which had won the state for Harrison, in spite of the Democratic victory of the year before, convinced the Whigs that a similar mode of attack must be used if they were to drive Polk from office. Cannon's great weakness in 1839 had been his inability to cope with Polk's tactics of mimicry and ridicule on the stump. It was apparent that a candidate must be found who could meet the governor on his own ground. With this necessity in mind, the Whigs nominated in March, 1841, "Lean Jimmy" Jones as their standard bearer. It was the general opinion that Jones was the only man in the party who could make it a real contest. With these two candidates in the field, it was evident that the campaign would be but a continuation of that of the previous year.

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[79]McCormac, *Polk,* 175-176.

[80]Nashville *Whig,* December 28, 1840.

As in 1839, the canvass was confined largely to national issues, and was characterized by the stump speaking so typical of the period. Polk declared that his views on national questions had been given in his "Address" of 1839, and that nothing had occurred since to change them.[81] As the Sub-Treasury Act had already been replaced by the new Whig Congress, the banking question became the principal issue in the Tennessee contest. Polk favored the reëstablishment of the sub-treasury system, while Jones upheld the orthodox Whig demand for a United States bank. Tyler's veto of the bank bill brought forward a vigorous protest from the Whig organs in Tennessee. "Parson" Brownlow called on him to resign.[82] The Washington *Globe,* after the election, expressed the opinion that the bank influence had defeated Polk.[83] The Democrats, in return, used the high tariff stand taken by the Whig party in the special session of Congress in 1841 as a means of embarrassing their opponents in the Tennessee campaign. The open association of the Tennessee Whigs with Clay and Crittenden during the previous summer made this mode of attack quite logical.[84] The internal improvement issue was also debated, although it does not appear that either party had an advantage on this problem.

It appears that petty politics and personalities really occupied the center of interest in the contest. Jones, although a man of considerable ability, was no match for Polk in debating and in the presentation of the political issues of the day. He resorted, therefore, to heckling tactics and relied more on amusing than on convincing his audience. Polk had great powers in mimicry which he had used to defeat Cannon, but against Jones these were not very effective. The latter, being a master of all the arts which Polk had used in 1839, fought the governor with his own weapons. Jones also misquoted and distorted Polk's statements during their joint debates, and amused the crowd by poking fun at his opponent.[85] In this period of log cabin, hard cider tactics in politics, Jones fitted in perfectly. His ability along the popular line of campaigning was a great factor in the Whig victory.[86]

The Whigs attacked Polk with great vigor. His real purpose, declared the Nashville *Whig,* was not the reëlection of himself, but the

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[81]Nashville *Union,* March 29, 1841.

[82]Jonesborough *Whig,* September 15, 1841.

[83]Washington *Globe,* October 26, 1841.

[84]Carroll wrote Calhoun, November 18, 1841, that if Polk had fully developed the measures of the special session of Congress, he would have beaten Jones. American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1929, p. 167. Tennessee Whigs were never real protectionists. Gentry was the only Tennessee Whig to vote for the tariff bill of 1842.

[85]See Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee,* 246-271. According to one author, Jones was nominated to "get after Polk." See James Phelan, *A History of Tennessee* (Cambridge, 1888), 398-406.

[86]See Samuel Cole Williams, *The Beginnings of West Tennessee* (Johnson City, 1930), 277-278, for a brief discussion of the campaign in West Tennessee.

reëlection of a Democratic legislature which would send him to the Senate.[87] Jones declared that Polk had been afraid to call a special session of the legislature for fear that it would have an adverse effect on his campaign for reëlection.[88] Polk, like Cannon in 1839, made every effort to keep the campaign on a serious basis, and the discussions confined to political issues. If he could have done that, he might have beaten his opponent. Unfortunately for him, however, the political temper of the people at that time was favorable to the tactics of Jones. As the contest neared its close, it was apparent that no man of Polk's training and temperament could cope with Jones' political swashbuckling.

The election of August, 1841, resulted in a Whig victory, but the margin was not as great as in 1840. The Democrats made much of the fact that Polk cut down the Whig majority of 12,102 in 1840, to 3,224 in 1841. Polk was able to muster 2,416 more votes than Van Buren did in the recent national election, while Jones' total was 6,464 less than that of Harrison the year before.[89] These figures indicate that more enthusiasm was prevalent in 1840 than in the Jones-Polk contest. The distribution of the vote in the state was practically the same as in the two previous elections.

The election resulted in the division of the legislature between the two parties. In the Senate the Democrats obtained a majority of one, while the Whigs won a majority of three in the lower house. Nominally, therefore, the Democrats, having a majority in the Senate, possessed the power to block any measure of the lower house that did not meet their approval. But on any question which required the joint vote of the two houses, the Whigs were in a position to outvote their opponents. This precipitated one of the most bitter contests in the political history of the state when the time came to elect two new senators.[90]

The Democrats seem to have expected defeat in the August election, as the overwhelming victory of Harrison the year before had shaken their confidence in their ability to redeem the state in such a short time. Because of this attitude, the *Union* declared, Polk was forced to wage the battle alone, and the apathy of the Democrats was responsible for the defeat.[91] General Jackson realized this, and regarded the result as a moral victory for Polk. He thought the governor should be rewarded by his party for cutting down the Whig majority. It was

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[87]Nashville *Whig,* May 12, 1841.

[88]McCormac, *Polk,* 184.

[89]Election figures are from the *Tribune Almanac.*

[90]There were 13 Democrats and 12 Whigs in the Senate. The Democrats were later known as the "immortal 13." In 1841, the Democrats blocked the election of the senators, and the state was not represented in the Senate until 1843. Polk played a prominent part in the controversy.

[91]Nashville *Union,* August 12, 1841.

Jackson's hope that, if the Democrats could obtain control of the legislature, they would honor Polk by sending him to the Senate.[92]

Polk, however, was compelled to wait until 1844 for his reward. The division of the legislature between the Whigs and Democrats blocked his election to the Senate. His support of the Democratic members of the legislature in the senatorial quarrel did not help him in the state. In fact, the Whigs placed the responsibility for the failure of the legislature to elect senators on his shoulders, and made much of the fact that Tennessee was not represented in the Senate of the United States from 1841 to 1843.[93] In 1843 Polk emerged from retirement and made a heroic but futile effort to regain the state for his party. He sought the governorship again that year but was beaten once more by "Lean Jimmy" Jones. These defeats, no doubt, were discouraging to Polk, and his political future must have seemed dark to him. His luck turned, however, in 1844, when he received his reward in the form of the presidency. Even that success was not complete, however, as his state cast its vote for Henry Clay.

Polk was the guiding spirit in the Democratic party in Tennessee in this period. With Jackson in retirement and Grundy coming to the end of his life in 1840 the party looked to Polk for leadership. He found the Democrats weak and discouraged in 1839, after three successive defeats at the hands of the Whigs. His remarkable victory over Cannon infused new life into the party and restored the balance of power in Tennessee politics. Polk suffered and sacrificed much to keep the Democratic party a real factor in the affairs of his state. He bore the brunt of the enemy's attacks throughout this period, and his reward, though late in coming, was magnificent and not undeserved.

[92] Jackson to Blair, August, 12, 1841, Jackson Papers.

[93] Memphis *American Eagle*, July 1, 1843; Polk to Sackfield Maclin, January 17, 1842, Papers of Andrew Johnson, I (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS*

By Paul M. Fink *and* Myron H. Avery

Few are the instances in the history of a specific region in eastern United States where an extensive nomenclature can be attributed so directly to one specific occurrence as is the case with the Great Smoky Mountains. This situation is rendered all the more curious by the fact that the event which gave rise to this nomenclature has received very little currency. The occurrence, which left such an indelible, although not then fully realized, impression upon the region, was the exploration of the entire Appalachian Mountain system made prior to the Civil War by Arnold Guyot. The primary objective of his explorations, which extended over a period of ten years, was to develop a general systematic geographic outline of the mountain regions of the eastern part of the United States. These explorations were made under conditions which can never again be duplicated. At that time, the Appalachians, which Arnold Guyot was exploring, were in a primitive condition and seldom visited and far less known. Commemorating his travels, there are several memorials to Guyot, such as the Mt. Guyot in the White Mountains of New Hampshire, another peak, 12,305 feet, in Sequoia National Park in California, and another Mt. Guyot of approximately 13,000 feet in Colorado. Yet an even more lasting tribute is the fact that the major portion of the nomenclature of the Great Smoky Mountains either originated with or became fixed as a result of Guyot's surveys. To appreciate this result, it is of value to understand what brought Guyot into this region and the purposes which he hoped to serve by his travels.

Arnold Guyot was born in 1807, in Switzerland. In 1825 began his association with Louis Agassiz, who was later to become one of the most outstanding figures in American geology. To this friendship undoubtedly can be traced Guyot's interest in mountains. His doctor's thesis was on the "Natural Classification of Lakes." In 1853 he spent six weeks studying the movements of glaciers in the Swiss Alps; and he was the first to call attention to the laminated structure of ice in glaciers. In 1839 he became professor of history and physical geography at the College of Neuchatel. Among his colleagues was Agassiz and

*An abstracted account, under the title, "Arnold Guyot's Explorations in the Great Smokies," by the same authors, appeared in the December, 1936 issue of *Appalachia* (journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club), New Series, II, 253-61.

thus continued the association begun many years before. During this period Guyot worked with Agassiz in teaching and also in the study of glaciers. Guyot's Alpine surveys were models of their kind.

Unsettled conditions in Europe in 1848 led to the suspension of the College of Neuchatel and, as a result, Guyot emigrated to the United States. Almost immediately he was invited to give a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston. These, published in 1853 under the title, *The Earth and Man,* at once gained for him a wide-spread reputation as a scientist. He was then engaged by the Massachusetts board of education as a lecturer on geography and methods of instruction for normal schools and teachers' institutes. His methods of teaching and his advocacy of the use of wall maps and models did much to popularize geology in the United States and established a technique of teaching the subject which was followed for many years. His textbooks were the first definite attempt at the scientific presentation of geology in American schools. Guyot was appointed to the chair of physical geography and geology at Princeton University in 1854. He retained this position until his death in 1884.[1]

Within the first year after his arrival in America, Guyot began the exploration of the Appalachian Mountain system which continued for many years. In this connection he wrote:

> One of my first labors, on arriving in America, in 1848, was to collect all the measurements of the Appalachian system which had then been published. Except the elevations determined for railroads and canals, nearly all the more remarkable heights which had been measured were in New England or New York, that is to say, in the White, Green and Adirondack Mountains. Add to this the secondary heights measured, in considerable number, in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, a few points in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and some rather vague determinations in North Carolina, by Dr. Mitchell, and we have nearly all of the hypsometrical wealth then at the service of the geographer.[2]

Guyot devoted four years, beginning in 1849, to exploration in the White, Green and Adirondack mountains. The next three years were given over to the central portion of the Appalachian chain. Then began his southern excursions, in the years of 1856, 1858, 1859 and 1860. It is with these that this article is mainly concerned.

Guyot writes little of the hardships of his explorations. However, to those who know the region even as it is today, they are very evident. His industry, both mental and physical, was tremendous. In one of his articles he states: "In my excursion of 1860 alone I determined

[1] L. C. Jones, "Arnold Henry Guyot," Faculty Papers of Union College, Union College *Bulletin,* XXIII, No. 2 (January, 1930).

[2] "On the Appalachian Mountain System," *American Journal of Science and Arts,* 2nd. Series, XXXI (1861), 158-187. This article also appeared in *Canadian Nat.,* VI (1861), 51-58.

about 400 points."[3] It is apparent that Guyot's major interest in these non-glaciated mountain regions was in connection with the development of his system for the determination of elevation by use of a barometer.

This was a very exact science with Guyot. The *Reports* of the Smithsonian Institution contain his elaborate tables of corrections for barometrical observations. His accuracy is almost incredible. The elevations which he determined for the major peaks of the Great Smokies are more accurate than any others obtained up to 1929, when the United States Geological Survey mapped the region. For example, there is only a fifteen to twenty-five foot difference between his barometrical observations and the results secured by the precise level surveys of the United States Geological Survey for Clingmans Dome, Mt. Guyot and Mt. LeConte.

Guyot wrote but four articles[4] on his ten years of explorations. The most detailed is his monograph, "On the Appalachian Mountain System," which summarizes his work, outlines the geography of the range and lists in sequence the elevations of the several groups.

Guyot evidently intended that more work would be done in the southern Appalachians, for he writes: ". . . a map of that interesting region on a large scale, and one of the Black Mountains, showing the positions of the points measured, are in preparation and will be published, together with the discussion and results of the barometrical observations, in the Smithsonian Contributions, to which I must refer for further details."[5] However, this plan did not materialize. Nothing further from Guyot's pen appeared in print and, for half a century, it was not known that Guyot had written anything further on the southern Appalachian Mountains.

In *Lure of the Great Smokies* (Boston and New York, 1927), by Robert Lindsay Mason, Guyot's explorations in the Great Smokies are discussed in the chapter, "Guyot's Pets." This chapter contains an extensive list of place names (reprinted from secondary sources) as applied by Guyot; these could not then be correlated with the present day nomenclature. To identify these peaks a search was made for other

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] In addition to "On the Appalachian Mountain System," already cited, they are: "Heights of North Carolina Mountains," *American Journal of Science and Arts,* 2nd. Series, XXIV (Sept., 1857), 277; "Measurements of Mountains of Western North Carolina," contained in John Nichols, *Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Thomas L. Clingman* (Raleigh, 1876), 138-147, and also published in *Southern Pictures and Pencilings,* II, No. 2 (1900); and "Geographical Notes on the Mountain Regions of Western North Carolina," a manuscript in the Library of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. See entries under "Guyot" in R. L. Mason and M. H. Avery, "A Bibliography for the Great Smokies," *Appalachia,* XXIV (June, 1931), 271-77 and New Series, II (December, 1936), 209-10; also S. Hastings Grant, "With Professor Guyot on Mounts Washington and Carrigain," *ibid.,* XI (Aug., 1934), 229-37; Asheville *Citizen-Times,* Aug. 21, 1932; and Paul M. Fink, "Early Explorers in the Great Smokies," East Tenn. Hist. Soc., *Publications,* No. 5 (1933), 55-68.

[5] "On the Appalachian Mountain System," *loc. cit.*

articles which might have been written by Guyot. It developed that Prof. Leonard C. Jones had written a treatise called "Arnold Guyot and Princeton" for the University of Neuchatel. In compiling a bibliography for this article, he learned at the Library of Congress of a manuscript written by Guyot to the director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey at Washington, D. C. A search at the Library of the Coast and Geodetic Survey brought to light a communication, dated February 26, 1863, entitled "Geographical Notes on the Mountain Region of Western North Carolina." This is the so-called "Guyot Manuscript," the discovery of which has received considerable publicity in the last few years. It has now been extensively annotated and it is expected that both it and the accompanying map will soon be published.

On reading this manuscript it becomes clear that, at that time, 1863, Guyot apparently had not abandoned his plan for a more elaborate treatise, for he asked permission to make a copy of his notes, in order to save ". . . a great deal of labor when writing my final memoir for the Smithsonian Contributions." However, he did not realize his cherished project for an extensive monograph on the Appalachian system for the Smithsonian *Contributions*. So far as is known, the "Guyot Manuscript" is his last writing on the southern Appalachians.

While the "Guyot Manuscript" is of great value to those interested in the Appalachian region, of far greater value is the map[6] accompanying it. The map has settled several controverted points of nomenclature. For example, it shows the much disputed Mt. Collins as situated west of present day knowledge—and it is, perhaps, the only error. Guyot says: that the name of Mt. Guyot was never applied to the peak on the Cocke-Sevier county line at the head of the Pinnacle lead. The peak there, now known as Old Black, was called by Guyot, Mt. Henry. The list of names given by Guyot has considerable historical value, even though many names have not survived. The necessary familiarity with the mountains applied to a study of the map, showing the graphic location of the peaks, and the accompanying elevations on the map, have solved the mystery of "Guyot's Pets."

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[6]The original map of 1861 has on its upper left corner the following note, signed by Guyot: "For the Eastern half, from the western boundary of Haywood Cty., See the accompanying Sketch of 1863, which has been redrawn according to my observations." This new "Sketch" of the March, 1863, map is cut so that it may be superimposed in two sections upon the original 1861 map, which at the time of Professor Jones' study of Guyot was thought to be the only existing copy of the Guyot map. Several Coast and Geodetic Survey charts, particularly "Mountain Region of North Carolina and Tennessee" (No. 2896x), were based largely on the Guyot map. For further account of the map, see L. C. Jones, *op. cit.* The Guyot map gained some local currency for it is the basis of the map prepared in 1885 by State Geologist W. C. Kerr for the North Carolina Department of Agriculture and used in that mountain classic, *Heart of the Alleghanies*, by W. B. Ziegler and B. S. Grosscup (Raleigh, N. C., 1883).

There is in the Guyot manuscript one very curious error—in the light of present day knowledge—and it is, perhaps, the only error. Guyot says:

> Several of the highest points of the Appalachian System are found on the Western side, though not on the chain itself—Such as the triple mountains of Bull Head 6,613 feet—the group first ascended and named by Buckley Mounts Guyot, Alexander, and Henry—which is according to my measurements higher still 6,636 feet—both of which are very near the watershed, but outside in Tennessee.

This location of Mt. Guyot, as in Tennessee and not on the state line, affords opportunity for a most interesting speculation.

It is, of course, now well known that the three peaks are on the state line and not in Tennessee. The map accompanying the manuscript, prepared by Guyot's nephew, Ernest Sandoz, locates Mts. Guyot and Henry as *north* of the state line on a short ridge, running northeast toward the Big Pigeon River. Mt. Alexander—contrary to Guyot's statement just quoted—is, however, located on the map, as on the State line.

The elevations on the map conclusively determine the three peaks, listed on the Guyot map as Mt. Alexander (6,447 ft.), Mt. Guyot (6,636 ft.) and Mt. Henry (6,373 ft.). They are, respectively, the present day Mt. Chapman[7] (6,430 ft.), Mt. Guyot (6,621 ft.) and Old Black (6,356 ft.), at the head of the Pinnacle lead on the Cocke-Sevier county line. The "South Peak" of Mt. Alexander is its conspicuous western edge, which gives the mountain its well known "circus-tent" shape.

On the Guyot map, the state line is indicated as continuing northeast toward the Big Pigeon River from what was undoubtedly Guyot's Tricorner Knob (6,188 ft.), where Balsam Ridge joins the Great Smokies. No peaks—not even the distinctive present day White Rock or Sharp Top[8]—appear between Tricorner Knob and the Big Pigeon River, either on the map or in the manuscript list. This omission would suggest that Guyot did not travel the state line between Mt. Henry and the Big Pigeon River, for the probable reason that he was in error as to its true location there.

An examination of Guyot's route into the Great Smokies possibly throws some light on the reason for this error. Guyot reached the state line from the North Carolina side, through the valley of the Tuckasegee River, by way of Raven and Straight Forks. He notes in his list of

[7]Name designated by U. S. Geographic Board; see *Decisions,* U. S. Geographic Board, October, 1931. The peak was sometimes formerly known as Old Black. See the U. S. Geological Survey Map for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

[8]James B. Buckley, in "Mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee," *Amer. Jour. of Science and Arts,* 2nd. Series, XXVII (May, 1859), 286-94, thus refers to Sharp Top: "The following points are in the Smoky Mts. and many of them are on the State Line, between N. C. and Tenn. * * White Rock Mt. 5002. This last is a misnomer of the hunters, being composed of a dark gneiss and mica slate, covered in many places with white lichens."

elevations that of the house of Robert Collins,[9] his guide through the Great Smokies, who lived in the "highest house" (2 miles above Smokemont on Luftee). The sequence of the elevations indicates that, from the junction of Raven and Straight Forks (2,476 ft.), Guyot probably climbed to the crest of the Balsam Ridge and then traveled north toward the Great Smokies. The first peak which he lists is "Luftee Knob, head of Straight Fork of Oconaluftee River" (6,232 ft.). In the manuscript, Guyot refers to "a remarkable conical peak called Luftee Knob" as the eastern "beginning of the Smoky Mt. Chain proper." Elsewhere, he refers to this peak as "The Pillar, head of Straight Fork of Oconaluftee River" with an elevation of 6,255 feet. Its location at the head of Straight Fork and its characteristic shape, as reflected in the name "The Pillar," indicate that the same peak is referred to in the three statements and discrepancy in the elevations may be due to different surveys or to a typographical error. The present day record of the elevation of Luftee Knob is 6,216 feet. Guyot then lists, between Luftee Knob and Tricorner Knob, the knobs bearing the characterless names of Thermometer (6,157 ft.) and Raven (6,230 ft.). Next in order on the list is Guyot's Tricorner Knob with an elevation of 6,188 feet, on the state line at the junction of Balsam Ridge and the Great Smokies. (The map, as drawn by Sandoz, indicates that the state line meets the Balsam Ridge at Luftee Knob). From Tricorner Knob, Guyot undoubtedly proceeded to the then unnamed Mt. Guyot[10] and beyond to Mt. Henry (Old Black). Here, unless prevented by the dense balsam growth, he should have seen that, west from the Big Pigeon River, the main range was on the *north* side of Big Creek, leading to Mt. Henry and not to Tricorner Knob, farther south. White Rock, or Sharp Top, on the state line, is clearly visible from Mt. Chapman (Mt. Alexander) and is the distinctive peak at the beginning of the Great Smokies.

Guyot's erroneous location of Mts. Guyot and Henry may be explained by a twofold supposition: that his observation from both Mts. Henry and Guyot was so restricted by dense timber as not to reveal the true topography of the range, and further that he understood that the

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[9]"ROBERT COLLINS. He was the guide and assistant of Professor Arnold Guyot's surveying party in 1858-59, and Col. D. K. Collins was along as a helper, to carry the instruments, chain, stakes, etc. They followed the summit of the Smoky Mountains from Cocke County, Tenn., to Blount County, Tenn., breaking up the party at Montvale Springs, 16 miles from Maryville. Robert Collins was born at Oconalufty River September 4, 1806, married Elizabeth Beck, December 30, 1830, and died April 9, 1863, when he was an officer in charge of 500 troops, mostly Cherokees, in Sevier County, Tenn." John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina, A History* (Raleigh, 1914), 209. An account of Robert Collins' connection with Guyot's explorations, as told by Collins' son, appears in "Old Settlers Recall Visits of Scientist" by W. C. Allen in the Asheville *Citizen-Times*, August 21, 1932.

[10]Possibly originally known as Balsam Cone. See Guyot, "Heights of North Carolina Mountains," *loc. cit.*, 277.

state line followed the range on the south side of Big Creek,[11] through Mt. Sterling, Big Cataloochee Knob, Luftee Knob and Tricorner Knob. Thus it would parallel, to the south, the true state line. In view of the contradiction on the map, Guyot's statement in the manuscript that Mt. Alexander was not on the state line must have been inadvertently made. Further, since the state line had been run in 1821, it would be rather unusual that such a misapprehension should be current only four decades later.

Guyot's mapmaker, Sandoz, was not, however, under the same misapprehension as to which side of Big Creek the state line followed, but Sandoz does fall into the error of failing to place Mt. Henry on the state line. Guyot's reference to Luftee Knob as the "beginning of the Smoky Mtn. Chain proper" lends much support to this supposition, but this conclusion is somewhat weakened by the fact that, as developed by W. C. Allen in "Old Settlers Recall Visits of Scientist" in the August 21, 1932, issue of the Asheville *Citizen-Times,* Guyot apparently did attempt to follow the state line south from the Big Pigeon River. Mr. Allen writes:

> Here starting on the ridge in the Cattaloochee "turnpike" road, at a stone that had been set up by the commissions of 1799 as a marker between the states of North Carolina and Tennessee, he took a southwardly course to the Bald Rock on the summit of the Great Iron or Smoky Mountain and continued along the main top to the Little Tennessee River.
>
> On this trip, he discovered and measured the tall mountain that has since been called by his name. He found out on this trip that the difficulties of making a survey from this angle of approach were almost insurmountable. He returned to Waynesville and made preparation to strike the Great Smokies from a point south of Waynesville.
>
> Leaving Waynesville, he went to the home of Robert Collins, who was then living on Ocona Luftee river about 12 miles from the top of Clingman's Dome. Joseph A. Collins, now living near Clyde, Haywood county, is a son of Robert Collins, and remembers Professor Guyot and has an interesting story to tell of the visit that the noted mountain climber made to his father's home and his travels among the mountains in what is now the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Guyot's comments on Buckley[12] indicate the origin of the name of Mt. Guyot—a compliment from one scientist to another. Samuel B. Buckley, later state geologist of Texas, had done preliminary work on the elevations in this region and had published his results in "Moun-

[11]Perhaps such a misapprehension was then current. The late George Masa of Asheville, N. C. is the source of the interesting information that many old settlers in this region still believe that the state line runs through Tricorner Knob, Luftee Knob (6,216 ft.), Balsam Corner, Big Cataloochee Knob (6,122 ft.), and Mt. Sterling (5,835 ft.).

[12]*Supra,* 57.

tains in North Carolina and Tennessee."[13] Buckley's determination of the height of Mt. Guyot was published as 6,734 feet, although on his second visit he had obtained an elevation of 6,994 feet.[14] Resulting partly from the use of faulty instruments and partly from too high base levels, Buckley's observations were found by Guyot to be of little value. Guyot reciprocated Buckley's compliment by designating as Mt. Buckley the peak (6,582 ft.) immediately west of Clingmans Dome.

Smoky Dome was apparently the original name of the culminating peak in the Great Smokies. The change to Clingmans Dome may have been brought about largely by Guyot in order to give some recognition to Senator T. L. Clingman, who had long labored to attract a deserved attention to this mountain wilderness and to destroy the then current impression that the White Mountains in New Hampshire were unexceeded in height east of the Mississippi. In 1858 Senator Clingman, with a party of six, including geologist Buckley and S. L. Love, had ascended the Dome and determined its elevation. Guyot attached the name of Clingman to the Dome and the names of Buckley and Love to the peaks on each side of it. Subsequently, in order to facilitate Guyot's work in obtaining a more correct elevation than his own, Senator Clingman had a trail cut from the present Indian Gap to Clingmans Dome, for a distance which Guyot notes as six miles.

This tribute to Senator Clingman was also the final solution of the famous Mitchell-Clingman controversy. This was the question as to whether the peak, which now bears the name of Mt. Mitchell, was in fact the one ascended by Professor Mitchell in 1835 and on which he lost his life in 1857, after establishing to the satisfaction of his followers that the present day Mt. Mitchell was the peak which he had ascended in 1835. The literature[15] of this controversy is extensive. It was Guyot who ended the Mitchell-Clingman controversy by his letter to the Asheville News[16] suggesting that, whether or not Professor Mitchell had ascended in 1835 the highest peak in the Black Mountains, yet, as a memorial to his pioneer services, this peak should bear the name of Mt. Mitchell rather than Clingmans Dome. In the interval, Clingman's name had been transferred to the dominating peak of the Great Smokies. Guyot's letter and his other statements[17] suggest that he felt that Professor Mitchell had, in fact, climbed the lower peak and not the present Mt. Mitchell. This conclusion, however, hardly seems tenable in the light of the analysis of the controversy published by Charles Phillips in the University of North Carolina *Magazine* of March, 1858.

[13] *Supra,* note 8.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] See Guyot, "On the Appalachian Mountain System." *loc. cit.*
[16] July 18, 1860 (reprinted in Nichols, *op. cit.,* 138-47).
[17] "For the Black Dome of North Carolina the culminating point of the Black Mountains, (lately called also Mitchell's high Peak but not the former Mount Mitchell . . .)," "On the Appalachian Mountain System," *loc. cit.,* 161.

Another indication of the extreme accuracy of Guyot's barometrical observations is the final determination of the height of Mt. Mitchell as 6,707 feet, in contrast with the 6,711 feet in current use for so many years.

The Guyot manuscript affords to an outsider a remarkably clear outline of what appears to be a very complex mountain system, describing in detail each of the basins formed by the transverse mountain ranges. These basins are: the Watauga valley, the Nolichucky valley, the basin of the French Broad River, Big Pigeon valley, the basin of the Little Tennessee and the basin of the Hiwassee.

Guyot's description of the country is indeed a vivid one. His picture of the region in 1856-1860 is:

To the South-west of the gorges through which the Big Pigeon escapes from the mountains, the chain rises rapidly in high pointed peaks and sharp ridges, up to a remarkable conical peak called Luftee Knob 6,220 feet. This is the beginning of the Smoky Mt. chain proper, which by the general elevation both of its peaks and its crest, by its perfect continuity, its great roughness and difficulty of approach, may be called the master chain of the Appalachian System.

For over 50 miles it forms a high and almost impervious barrier between Tennessee and the inside basins of North Carolina. Only one tolerable road, or difficult mule path, in this whole distance is found to cross from the Great Valley of Tennessee into the interior basins of North Carolina . . . and the road reaches its summit, Road Gap[18] as it is called, at an elevation of not less than 5,271 feet. It connects Sevierville, Tenn. with Webster, Jackson County, North Carolina, through the vallies of Little Pigeon and Ocona Luftee, the last of which is the main Northern tributary of the Tuckaseegee.

Between the gorges of the Big Pigeon and the Road Gap the top of these ridges are usually sharp and rocky, deeply indented, and winding considerably, covered with a dense growth of laurel and high trees, which makes travel over them extremely difficult and almost impracticable. Neither the White Man nor the Indian hunter venture in the wilderness.

Beyond the Road Gap, the chain of the Smoky Mts. rises still higher, but the top of the ridge ceases to be so rugged and sharp and will allow an easy path. One has been cut for my visit by order of Mr. Clingman from the Road Gap to the highest peak. About six miles South-west of the Gap is the culminating point of the Smoky Mts., Smoky Dome or Clingman's Mt. 6,660 ft., which is thus only some 50 feet lower than the highest summit of the Black Mts.

From this point the chain gradually descends. The black verdure of the Balsam Fir which elsewhere crown the highest summits, gives way to the green foliage of the Beeches and Oaks. After a short turn to the west it sends a long and powerful ridge called the Forney Ridge to the South-west, to the Little Tennessee. From the head of the Forney Ridge the Big Stone Mt.[19]

[18]The present day Indian Gap.
[19]Silers Bald.

5,614 ft., the main chain continues nearly due west, then curving gradually to the southwest terminates near the deep cut of the Tennessee in the Great Bald.[20] 4,922 feet—All this portion of the Smoky Mts., from Forney Ridge is used by the Tennesseeans for grazing cattle. Numerous paths, therefore, run up the Western slopes, and along the dividing ridge. But the Eastern slope is still a wilderness, little frequented.

Here the Little Tennessee cuts that high chain by a deep winding chasm, in which no room is left for a road on its immediate banks, the mountains nearby rising to 3,000 feet above it, and upwards; the point where it leaves the mountains being scarcely 900 ft. above the level of the sea. . . .[21]

Those who are now interested in this region have cause to rejoice that such a clear and complete description of these mountains is available, written at a time when they were little known and by one who was not only a geographer and a scholar but one who also had such an ability for graphic and concise description.

PEAKS OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS
AS LISTED BY PROF. ARNOLD GUYOT[22]

Guyot's Name	Guyot's Altitude	Identification	U.S.G.S. Elevation
CHAIN OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NORTH OF ROAD GAP			
Luftee Knob, head of straight fork of Oconaluftee River	6232	Luftee Knob	6216
Thermometer Knob	6157	First high point, ½mile west of Luftee Knob	6120
Ravens Knob	6230	Mt. Yonaguska, at junction of Hyatt Ridge and Balsam Ridge	6200
Tricorner Knob	6188	Tricorner Knob, the junction of Balsam Ridge and the Great Smokies.	6150
Mt. Guyot (so named by Buckley) in Tennessee	6636	Mt. Guyot	6621
Mt. Henry	6373	Old Black, at the junction of the Pinnacle lead and the Great Smokies	6356
Mt. Alexander	6447	Mt. Chapman	6400

[20]Gregory Bald.

[21]Guyot Manuscript, 21-24.

[22]"On the Appalachian Mountain System," *Amer. Jour. of Science and Arts*, 2nd Series. XXXI (1861), 158-187. The names used in the identifications and the altitudes given in the last column are from the U. S. Geological Survey Map of the Great Smoky National Park.

Guyot's Name	Guyot's Altitude	Identification	U.S.G.S. Elevation
Mt. Alexander, south peak	6299	The westernmost of Mt. Chapman's three tops	6250
The Three Brothers,[23] highest or central peak	5907	Mt. Sequoyah	6050
The Thunderknob	5682	Pecks Corner, junction of Hughes Ridge and the Great Smokies	5650
Laurel Peak	5992	Laurel Top	5900
Reinhardt Gap	5220	False Gap, just west of Laurel Top	5350
Top of Richland Ridge	5492	Junction of Rich Mountain and the Great Smokies	5500
Indian Gap	5317	Dry Sluice Gap	5375
Peck's Peak	6232	Mt. Kephart	6150
Mt. Ocona	6135	Northern peak of Mt. Kephart	6100
Right Hand or New Gap	5096	Newfound Gap	5050
Mt. Mingus	5694	Mt. Mingus	5800

GROUP OF BULLHEAD, TENNESSEE[24]

Central Peak or Mt. LeConte	6612	Mt. LeConte	6593
West Peak or Mt. Curtis	6568	Cliff Top	6555
North Peak or Mt. Safford	6535	Murtle Point	6500
Cross Knob	5931	Now nameless, these are two points	
Neighbor	5771	on the ridge running west from the Main Top of LeConte.	
Master Knob	6013	Balsam Point	6150
Tomahawk Gap	5450		
Alum Cave	4971	Alum Cave	5000
Alum Cave Creek junction with Little Pigeon River	3848	Grass Patch (unnamed on U.S.G.S. map)	3850

[23]This is the most difficult of all the Guyot names to identify. It is designated as "The Three Brothers, highest or central peak" on the list, as "Brothers (Central)" on the map, and as "The True Brothers, highest or central peak—5,907 ft." in the letter to the Asheville *News (supra,* n. 16). Its elevation was given by Guyot as 5,907 ft. and it is located on the map between Laurel Top and Mt. Alexander. Along this section of the ridge there is nothing which seems to fulfill this descriptive name. Once again the elevations furnish the solution. Between Hughes Ridge and Old Black the state line is at least 300 feet below the elevation given for the Brothers, except for a prominent and well-defined flat summit (Mt. Sequoyah on the U. S. G. S. Great Smoky Mountains National Park Map), extending for half a mile along the 6,000 foot contour line. This must be the "Three Brothers" but its shape scarcely seems to warrant the name.

[24]From Guyot's map and manuscript it would appear that he applied the term "Bullhead" to the whole LeConte massif, rather than to any one particular peak, as is done today.

Guyot's Name	Guyot's Altitude	Identification	U.S.G.S. Elevation
GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS, SOUTH OF ROAD GAP			
Road Gap	5271	Indian Gap	5256
Mt. Collins	6188	Mt. Collins	6188
Collins Gap	5720	Collins Gap (unnamed on U.S.G.S. map)	5720
Mt. Love	6443	Mt. Love	6366
Clingman's Dome	6660	Clingmans Dome	6642
Mt. Buckley	6599	Mt. Buckley	6582
Chimzy Knob	5588	Knob near Double Spring Gap, between Clingmans Dome and Silers Bald	5590
Big Stone Mt.—head of Forney Ridge	5614	Silers Bald	5620
Big Cherry Gap	4838	Buckeye Gap	4817
Corner Knob	5246	Cold Spring Knob, at junction of Miry Ridge and Great Smokies	5240
Forney Ridge Peak	5087	Peak south of Mule Gap on Welch Ridge	5095
Snaky Mt.	5195	Briar Knob	5225
Thunderhead Mountain	5520	Thunderhead	5530
Eagle Top	5433	Blockhouse	5425
Spence Cabin	4910	Spence Cabin site	
Turkey Knob	4740		
Opossum Gap	3840	Ekaneetlee Gap	3853
North Bald	4711	Small bald east of Gregory, sometimes called Gregory's Little Bald (unnamed on U.S.G.S. map)	4750
The Great Bald's Central Peak, near the Gap of Little Tennessee	4922	Gregory Bald	4948
The Great Bald's South Peak	4708	Parsons Bald	4730
Tennessee River, Bardin's	899		

TENNESSEE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IMPEACHMENT AND TRIAL OF ANDREW JOHNSON

By James W. Patton

Had Abraham Lincoln lived, says one of the biographers of his successor in office, he "would have been crucified by the Radicals in Congress. Andrew Johnson suffered that crucifixion for him."[1] To this generalization Johnson's adopted state of Tennessee offers no exception, for in that commonwealth his impeachment was warmly applauded by the dominant Radical element; his humiliating treatment at the hands of the congressional managers during the trial was enthusiastically approved; and his conviction was loudly demanded and actively sponsored.

The explanation of Tennessee's attitude toward the attempted removal of one of its own citizens from the nation's chief executive office is to be found largely in the political situation existing in that state during the period of Reconstruction. Although the state had, in July, 1866, and consequently before the impeachment proceedings were under way, been restored to its former position in the Union, thus avoiding the inconveniences of military reconstruction,[2] its politics continued to be attended with turbulence and disorder.

Three distinct elements were more or less evident in the political texture of the state during this period. The former secessionists—the "Confederate Brigadiers," as they came to be derisively characterized —were now devoid of leadership,[3] largely broken in spirit and fortune, and virtually eliminated from political activity by the stringent provisions of the elective franchise acts of July 5, 1865, and May 3, 1866.[4] In numbers and potential influence, however, they were of sufficient importance, should their disabilities be removed, to constitute a serious menace to the permanency of the existing state administration, a development which the leaders of the dominant party were determined to prevent at any and all costs. The Conservative Unionists, including a considerable element of the old Whig party, and ably led by such men

[1] Lloyd P. Stryker, *Andrew Johnson, a Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), p. vii.

[2] See James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 201-25, for an account of the events connected with Tennessee's readmission to the Union.

[3] Isham G. Harris, who as governor of Tennessee in 1861 had been actively instrumental in effecting the secession of the state, was the nominal leader of this faction, but he was now an exile and a fugitive from justice, for whose capture the legislature and the governor were offering a large reward. *Acts of Tennessee*, 1865, pp.147-8.

[4] For the provisions of these measures, see *ibid.*, 1865, pp.32-6, and *ibid.*, 1865-6, pp.42-8.

as Emerson Etheridge, William B. Campbell, Edmund Cooper, and Thomas A. R. Nelson, were opposed to both Negro suffrage and the drastic restrictions of the elective franchise laws. For these reasons they were suspected of disloyalty and branded by the leaders of the administration party as "rebel sore-heads"[5] and "factious and revolutionary" agitators.[6] With reference to national politics, the Conservatives favored the generous amnesty provisions and other liberal features of the presidential plan of reconstruction and, so far as it was within their power, supported Johnson in his struggle with the congressional Radicals. The Radical Unionists, under the bitter and uncompromisingly partisan leadership of the Reconstruction governor, William G. ("Parson") Brownlow,[7] constituted the third and dominant element. Although representing a numerical minority, this party had, through a rigid enforcement of the elective franchise restrictions, Negro suffrage,[8] and the effective use of a well-organized militia,[9] established a vengeful and oppressive state government, the aims and objectives of which were in many respects identical with the Radical program at Washington.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Reconstruction governor of Tennessee and the tailor president were bitter personal and political enemies of long standing. During the twenty-five years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, they had fought each other "systematically, perseveringly, and untiringly." Johnson, said the governor, "has scored me on every stump in the state of Tennessee, and I have paid him back to the best of my ability."[10] A common opposition to secession had impelled them to lay aside their differences in 1861, and they had loyally coöperated in support of the Union cause throughout the war, but with Johnson's adoption of a lenient policy

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[5]Nashville *Union,* July 22, 1865.

[6]Nashville *Union and American,* Mar. 6, 1866.

[7]See James W. Patton, *op. cit.,* 74-85, for a brief character sketch of this eccentric individual, and E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill, 1937), for a full-length biography.

[8]The Negroes of Tennessee were enfranchised on February 26, 1867. *Acts of Tennessee,* 1866-7, pp.27-33. This measure was regarded by the Radicals as an important step toward the continuation of their supremacy, the governor advocating it as a means of securing "sixty or seventy thousand votes to kick the beam to weigh down the balance against rebellion." Nashville *Union and American,* Sept. 16, 1866.

[9]This organization, created by the legislature in February, 1867, was under the direct command of the governor and could be called into service "whenever in his opinion the safety of life, liberty, property, or the faithful execution of the laws require it." *Acts of Tennessee,* 1866-7, p.24. Under pretense of protecting the state government against "rebel assaults," the troops, many of whom were Negroes, were freely used during the campaign of 1867 to break up the speaking engagements of Etheridge, the Conservative candidate for governor, and also to insure a Radical victory at the polls. See Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* July 11, 26, 30, and Aug. 4, 1867.

[10]*Portrait and Biography of Parson Brownlow, the Tennessee Patriot. Together with his last Editorial in the Knoxville Whig; also, his recent speeches, rehearsing his Experiences with Secession, and his Prison Life* (Indianapolis, 1862), 28, 55.

toward the South, their hostility had broken out with renewed venom. By March, 1866, the governor was announcing that,

> If Andy Johnson is to lead the way in reconstruction with the Democratic Party at his back, I go the other way. I go with the Congress of the United States, the so-called radicals. I do not fear to side with them. The name radical has no terrors for me. I have been known as a "damned blue-light Whig" and a "damned lunatic," and I think it cheap if they will let me off by calling me a "damned radical."[11]

Under the circumstances which have just been described, it was virtually inevitable that the charges hurled against the president by the Radicals at Washington should be echoed among the Radicals in Tennessee. At the state Republican convention, meeting at Nashville on February 22, 1867, resolutions were adopted,

> That we cover our faces with shame when we contemplate the disgrace brought upon our beloved state by the defection and degeneracy of her unprincipled adopted son, who, by the bullet of an assassin, has ascended to the chief magistracy of the nation; and we shall cordially endorse any action of Congress which shall legitimately deprive him of continued power to disturb the peace of the country.

At the same meeting a letter from the governor was read, declaring that "the President has become a mere man of straw—an inefficient, incompetent negative, besieged by the disloyal men of the North and South, and advised and influenced by the worst men in the country."[12] Similar charges were made in Radical mass meetings at various places throughout the state.[13]

The colored citizens of Tennessee were equally severe in their condemnation of the president. At a "grand pow-wow" of Negroes, held in the state house at Nashville on April 13, 1867, resolutions were offered that, "We deeply regret the transmorphosis of our once beloved 'Moses' into the slave-catching 'Pharaoh' of ancient Egypt, and that the dynasty of the glorious republic should be so tarnished by 'His Ac-

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[11]Nashville *Union*, Mar. 28, 1866. One of the reasons for the governor's rupture with Johnson was his irritation at what he professed to regard as an attempt on the part of the president to prevent the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in Tennessee. See Knoxville *Whig*, June 20, 1866, and Nashville *Press and Times*, July 15, 18, 21, 1866.

[12]Nashville *Union and Dispatch*, Feb. 23, 1867.

[13]For example, the resolutions of the Polk county Radicals at Benton on May 8, 1867: "That we utterly disapprove and condemn the foolish and corrupt policy of Andrew Johnson . . . in his endless strife and contention with Congress, and his wicked assumptions, who, to revive a defunct party, has deserted his own avowed principles and has had recourse to disloyal and treasonable materials with which to rebuild the rotton edifice, thus clearly showing that disloyal sentiments are not those of progress." Knoxville *Whig*, May 15, 1867.

cidency' as chief executive of the nation."[14] Likewise a meeting of colored Radicals at Gallatin, on April 20, endorsed fully the reconstruction laws of Congress, tendered hearty thanks to Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, and resolved, in evident imitation of the action of the recent state convention, "That we cover our faces with shame when we contemplate the disgrace brought upon Tennessee by her treacherous son, Andrew Johnson."[15]

Johnson was popular among the Tennessee Conservatives, who had endorsed his policy at their state convention on April 16,[16] but, after the crushing defeat suffered by his party at the polls in August, such advantages as he might have expected to derive from their support were largely dissipated. His chief source of strength, therefore, lay in the Conservative press, which was ably edited in a number of instances, and almost unanimous in its support of the presidential policy throughout the impeachment controversy.[17] "We dare you to impeach him," ran a typical editorial in October, 1867. "The people are at the back of Andrew Johnson and in the end will sustain him. The Constitution must be upheld and Andrew Johnson *will* uphold it. Nor is that all, he will hand it down to his successors unimpaired. Mark our words!"[18]

Such was the temper of the state when the legislature assembled on October 7, 1867.[19] On October 9 a joint resolution was introduced in the lower house that,

> Whereas, it is now apparent to the world that Andrew Johnson . . . has used his position and influence to obstruct, hinder and delay the execution of the Reconstruction acts of Congress . . . the House of Representatives of the United States of America should present articles of impeachment against the aforesaid . . . acting President of the United States, and we hereby request our representatives in Congress to vote for the impeachment articles against said Johnson.[20]

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[14]Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* Apr. 14, 1867.

[15]Knoxville *Whig,* May 1, 1867.

[16]Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* Apr. 17, 1867.

[17]The most influential Conservative newspapers published in the state during this period were: the Knoxville *Free Press* and the Knoxville *Herald,* which were combined in January, 1868, and issued thereafter as the *Press and Herald;* the Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* the Nashville *Republican Banner,* and the Memphis *Avalanche.* The Nashville *Gazette* was a Democratic paper, which supported the Conservative candidate for governor in 1867 but was opposed to Johnson.

[18]Shelbyville *Union,* quoted in Nashville *Gazette,* Oct. 5, 1867. See also Knoxville *Free Press,* Nov. 26; Knoxville *Herald,* Nov. 27; and Nashville *Republican Banner,* Dec. 6, 1867.

[19]This legislature was intensely Radical in character. Its acts, among which was the famous Ku Klux law of September, 1868, were assailed by the Conservatives as "plagues similar to those of the frogs and lice of Egypt," from which the people "are panting to be delivered . . . as did the Israelites of old." Knoxville *Press and Herald,* Aug. 8, 1868.

[20]Nashville *Press and Times,* Oct. 10, 1867.

After an unsuccessful attempt to modify its terms,[21] this measure passed the House, on November 26,[22] and was transmitted to the Senate where it was adopted on December 11.[23]

In the meantime, on December 7, the question of impeachment had come to a vote in the national House of Representatives, where, although the House declined to arraign the president on the evidence submitted at this time, it is significant that six of the seven representatives from Tennessee voted to sustain the Radical contention that Johnson had been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors" in opposing Congress.[24]

The failure of the first attempt at impeachment was applauded by the Tennessee Conservatives. "After a most inglorious but blatant much-ado-about-nothing," said the Nashville *Republican-Banner,* the enemies of the president "have cast their stone and it has missed its mark; so they will console themselves and their wrath by hurling a few harmless curses at the figure they are unable to destroy. The nature of this revenge, like its cost, is rather cheap, and a fair type, we take it, of the average disposition of the lower House."[25] The Paris *Intelligencer* commended the "superior moral courage" shown by Isaac R. Hawkins, the only member of the state's congressional delegation who had dared to disregard the mandate of the legislature by casting his vote against the impeachment resolutions.[26] On the other hand, the Tennessee Radicals, like their allies at Washington, continued their attacks upon Johnson with unabated virulence. "We are for the present Congress, the ablest and most patriotic deliberative body which has ever sat in this country," declared the Nashville *Press and Times,* and "we are opposed, uncompromisingly, to the wicked and insane policy of a perfidious president, whose atrocious apostasy has been rebuked by an unprecedented majority of the loyal American citizens."[27]

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[21]The more moderate members of the House sought to substitute a resolution instructing the Tennessee delegation to vote for impeachment, should the members of the delegation "believe, from the testimony taken, that Andrew Johnson . . . has been guilty of violating laws of the United States, in such manner, and to such extent, as subject him to impeachment." *House Journal,* 1867-68, pp.227-8.

[22]*Ibid.,* 229.

[23]The resolution was at first rejected by the Senate committee to which it was referred, but was later called up and adopted in order to sustain the action of the Tennessee congressmen who had voted for impeachment on December 7. Nashville *Press and Times,* Dec. 12, 1867.

[24]Those voting for impeachment were Horace Maynard, William B. Stokes, James Mullins, John Trimble, Samuel M. Arnell, and David A. Nunn; against impeachment, Isaac R. Hawkins. *Congressional Globe,* 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 68. Roderick R. Butler was also a member of the Fortieth Congress, but he was not seated until June 26, 1868, and hence took no part in the impeachment proceedings. *Ibid.,* 3535.

[25]Dec. 14, 1867.

[26]Quoted in Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* Dec. 17, 1867.

[27]Dec. 12, 1867. The *Press and Times* was the principal organ of the Brownlow administration in Middle Tennessee. Its editor, S. C. Mercer, was a violent Kentucky Unionist who had come to Nashville in April, 1862, as editor of the *Daily Times and True Union,* the organ of Johnson's military government; but, like the governor, he had ceased to support the president in 1865.

A temporary lull in "the premonitory tremors of the travailing volcano" occurred during the Christmas season of 1867, but with the coming of the new year the critics of the president resumed their activity. The reinstatement of Secretary Stanton, on January 13, afforded the legislature an opportunity to reaffirm its Radical principles in a joint resolution commending the Senate for restoring to the war department "this patriot and statesman, whose unswerving fidelity to the interest of the country, and valuable services while in office, entitle him to the lasting gratitude of every loyal heart."[28] Likewise the state Radical convention, meeting at Nashville on January 22, gave its hearty approval to "the firm, wise and patriotic stand taken by our Congress against the usurpation of the President of the United States."[29]

Nor did the Radical press fail to continue its caustic comments. "Mr. Johnson," said the principal organ of the state administration in East Tennessee,

> Has shown himself a bold, bad man, of much more resolution and pluck than some had awarded him. But let him beware how he presumes too far upon the moderation and leniety of an excited and indignant people. Let him pause before he attempts to vault the barriers which the Constitution and the supreme legislature of the nation have erected to protect their liberties. The American people are not Frenchmen. They will not for one moment tolerate a coup d'etat. If Mr. Johnson aspires to imitate Louis Napoleon, let him remember the fate of Charles the First.[30]

Another warning from the same source characterized the president as

> The adversary. . . . formidable, alert, unscrupulous. The White House is his citadel. He has new-born hopes of powerful aid from a bare majority of the justices composing the Supreme Court. But the loyal millions North and South, composing a decided majority of the people of the United States, are resolved not to be suppressed, nor circumvented, nor crushed out, whether by Andrew Johnson, by five judges, nor by the pro-Rebel hosts who stand behind them.[31]

The dismissal of Stanton, on February, 21, called forth additional outbursts of Radical vehemence. "What a shameful spectacle does the Chief Magistrate of the United States present to the people in setting them an example of willful and malicious transgression of the laws which

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[28]The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority; in the lower house, on January 17, by a vote of 62 to 2, and in the Senate, on January 18, by 18 to 5. *House Journal*, 1867-8, p.402; *Senate Journal*, 1867-8, p.249.

[29]Nashville *Press and Times*, Jan. 23, 1868.

[30]Knoxville *Whig*, Jan. 22, 1868.

[31]*Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1868. Irritation at such harangues as these led the Nashville *Republican Banner* to assert that, "The Radicals would never have permitted the crucifixion of our Savior by the Jews, until they should have had an opportunity to insult him with articles of impeachment." Jan. 29, 1868.

he is under oath to obey himself, and to compel, if need be, others to obey," stormed the Nashville *Press and Times*. "How can the country have peace under such a President? . . . He merits no mercy. . . . His heart has felt no touch of compassion for his sorrowing country. If all the blood which Andrew Johnson has caused to flow were collected in a lake, it would float a man-of-war. . . . It is time that Congress should vindicate its power and protect the people. Let Johnson be impeached, treason be made odious, and the arch-traitor punished."[32]

Alarmed at the growing force of the Radical movement, the Conservative press had meanwhile redoubled its efforts in Johnson's behalf. "We submit that it is the duty of every patriot to uphold and sustain the present President in his great contest," urged the Nashville *Union and Dispatch*. "The people should endorse him, and while he is identified with the peril of the country, we should by every available means give him strength."[33] The Memphis *Avalanche* declared that it would be an act of "the basest ingratitude" to desert the man who "has sacrificed himself for the Constitution and for the Southern people, . . . has stood undismayed amid the terrible storm of slander and calumny, . . . and still stands like a rock—struggling with all his power to beat back the waves of fanaticism."[34]

With such strength as they could muster, the Tennessee Democrats also came to the support of the president. The state Central Committee of that party, meeting at Nashville on February 15, adopted resolutions that Johnson, "By the firmness and courage he has displayed in his endeavor to rescue Constitutional government from the spoliation with which it is threatened, and the prudence and sagacity with which he has conducted his administration, deserves the thanks of the American people, and is entitled to their zealous support in the existing perilous emergency, . . . and that we repose confidence in his ability, if rightly sustained by the people, to defeat the machinations of the Radical leaders, restore the supremacy of the Constitution, correct pernicious legislation, and reëstablish civil law, justice and order in the nation."[35]

Such affirmations of confidence in the president and his policy do not appear, however, to have succeeded in effecting any change in the atti-

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[32]Feb. 24, 25, 1868. Upon hearing of Stanton's dismissal, the legislature, on February 24, adopted by unanimous acclamation a joint resolution approving the course of Congress in resisting the demands of the president. *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1868.

[33]Feb. 7, 1868.

[34]Quoted in *ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1868. This editorial was written in reply to a communication criticizing the president. It is interesting to note that the *Avalanche* further asserted, with almost prophetic insight, that "the day is not far distant when the Southern people will appreciate his services and extend to him that gratitude which we regret to see our correspondent would deny him."

[35]Nashville *Union and Dispatch*, Feb. 16, 1868.

tude of the Tennessee Radicals. "Never since 1865," exulted the Nashville organ of the state administration, "have we seen the Republicans of this locality so nearly unanimous for any measure as they are for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. The legislature is a unit on this point, with two or three Conservative exceptions, and not a dissenting voice is heard on the streets among Republicans. In fact, everybody is eager for it, and regards the measure . . . as essential to the peace of the country."[36] That the Radical attitude was also the official attitude of the state at this time was further demonstrated on February 24, when the second and final vote upon impeachment in the national House of Representatives again found the Tennessee delegation arrayed against the president by a majority of six to one.[37]

With Johnson thus impeached, the state settled down to observe the progress of his trial. Toward this event there was little change from the attitude manifested during the period which has just been described. True enough, the Tennessee senators, unlike the congressional delegation, refused to follow the dictates of their Radical constituents; but the state administration and the Radical press continued their onslaughts upon the president's character and policy, charging him with various and sundry crimes and confidently predicting his speedy removal from office,[38] while the Conservatives, still handicapped by lack of political influence, were forced to seek expression of their views through less official channels.

The newspapers of the respective parties began to set forth their hopes and predictions as soon as the court of impeachment had begun its deliberations. "Andrew Johnson is on his trial," exhorted the governor's East Tennessee organ. "The Senate is the court and jury. . . . Loyal citizens are his accusers. Rebels and their allies are his defenders. Let your voice, fellow-citizens, clear, full, and unequivocal, be heard in

[36]Nashville *Press and Times,* Feb. 26, 1868.

[37]Arnell, Mullins, Nunn, and Stokes voted for impeachment, and Trimble and Maynard, who were absent, would have voted likewise if they had been present. Hawkins was also absent but was understood to be opposed to impeachment. *Congressional Globe,* 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 1400. Stokes spoke vigorously in favor of the impeachment resolutions on February 24, charging Johnson, among other offenses, with drunkenness during his administration as military governor, of having "no regard for truth," and of attempting to "put the rebels in power to again plant their heels upon our necks and crush the colored men into dust." *Ibid.,* 1396. Mullins also attacked Johnson a few days later, alleging that, "The Czar of Russia has never assumed more despotic power and more absolute sway than the President of the United States." *Ibid.,* 1558.

[38]See, for example, the governor's "Address to the Loyal People of Tennessee" on March 18: "Mr. Johnson's general course has been singularly marked by official obliquity, recklessness, corruption and usurpation, producing bitter, disastrous results through the whole country. Loyalty has been placed under ban; treason, feted and honored by him, has become bold and defiant; lawlessness, discontent, and disturbance have been induced by his official malfeasance, until they have ripened into murderous riots and multiplied private instances of rebel vengeance, consigning hundreds, if not thousands, of unhappy victims—loyal citizens, white and colored—to sudden and violent deaths." Knoxville *Whig,* Mar. 18, 1868.

Washington."[39] The Nashville *Press and Times* spoke in less elegant but equally vigorous language, describing Johnson as sitting on a perch like "a jack-daw, dressed up in stolen feathers." But, continued this journal, "The eagles have whetted their beaks and plumed their wings, and the apostate and ingrate will soon be stripped of his feathers and left as bare as a tree toad."[40] The governor was also convinced that the president, having "so defied the law-making power that, after great forbearance on the part of Congress, he stands impeached before the highest judicial body in the nation . . . his conviction will doubtless soon follow, as well as his degradation from office and his disqualification from ever again filling any office of profit or trust in the United States."[41]

To such predictions as these the Conservative press replied, with equal confidence, that, "If impeachment go through the Senate, it will destroy the Republican party before the country; for the American people will not be dragged at the heels of an organization governed by the failing intellect and vindictive spirit of Old Thad Stevens;"[42] and again that, "The President will not be convicted because he has committed no crime, and the Senate cannot carry the public opinion of the country with them in deposing him on charges which are felt to be frivolous."[43]

Considering the length and complicated character of the great drama that was being enacted at Washington, it is scarcely to be expected that the people of Tennessee should have maintained an unflagging interest in all of its various developments. The month of April saw a considerable reduction in the amount of editorial space given to the trial in the newspapers. None the less, the Radicals continued "united on the justice and necessity of the . . . removal of Andrew Johnson from the Presidency." "If there be one dissenting voice on this point among the seventy-two thousand and odd voters who supported Governor Brownlow last August," asserted the Nashville *Press and Times,* "we have not heard it."[44] Typical of the Conservative attitude during the same

[39] *Ibid.,* Mar. 11, 1868.
[40] Mar. 18, 1868.
[41] Knoxville *Whig,* Mar. 18, 1868.
[42] Nashville *Republican Banner,* Mar. 11, 1868.
[43] *Ibid.,* Mar. 15, 1868. The Democrats likewise continued to give the president some support. At a mass meeting of former Confederates, held at Memphis early in March, resolutions were adopted, "That, as plain men and citizens of the United States, we are unable to see that any crime has been committed by Andrew Johnson for which he should be impeached, which has not been committed by every President of the United States who has preceded him," and "that we have undiminished confidence in the integrity, patriotism, and fidelity of Andrew Johnson to constitutional liberty." Nashville *Press and Times,* Mar. 9, 1868.
[44] Apr. 9, 1868. As reasons for "this remarkable case of unanimity," the *Press and Times* gave the following: first, "that the Republicans feel, and know from painful experience, that the President is bitterly hostile to the *men* and *measures* of the present state government, and would overthrow them both today if he could;" second, "that Johnson's acquittal would embolden the Democrats to take immediate steps to set aside the state government"; and third, "that the President would give the revolutionists such aid by the disposition of troops and changes in his military department as would insure them an easy victory."

period, the Knoxville *Press and Herald* declared that "the President's vindication is as certain as the return of day to chase the fogs and darkness of night away, and his present betrayers and accusers will ere long feel their hearts divided between mortification at their own dismissal and bitter enmity at the enduring luster which will illumine the name of Andrew Johnson."[45]

The approach of the end of the trial in May found both parties anxiously awaiting the verdict. Alleging that there could be "no quiet nor security while Johnson is President," and that the removal of "this modern God of Discord" would, "in a miraculously brief time, restore peace and the supremacy of the civil law in Tennessee,"[46] the Radicals concentrated their efforts upon an attempt to secure the vote of Senator Joseph S. Fowler for conviction.[47] The governor undoubtedly coöperated in this attempt, although the extent to which he actually threatened Fowler was disputed;[48] and the Tennessee congressional delegation waited upon the senator on May 12 to request that he resign or at least refrain from voting, "unless he can represent what he well knows to be the sentiment of the loyal people of his state."[49] Fowler was a Radical, and he had at the time of his election, according to the governor, pledged himself to vote for and, by every other means within his control, support the cause of impeachment;[50] but he appears to have been a person of some independence of character,[51] and presumably he was not at this time expecting to be a candidate for reëlection.[52] He therefore chose

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[45]Apr. 28, 1868.

[46]Nashville *Press and Times,* May 4, 1868.

[47]Since the other senator from Tennessee, David T. Patterson, was both a Democrat and the son-in-law of Johnson, it was assumed that he would vote for acquittal.

[48]Replying to a statement of the Knoxville *Press and Herald* that the governor had written to Fowler, threatening to have the legislature ask for the latter's resignation should he fail to vote for conviction, a spokesman of the state administration asserted: "There is not one word of truth in the foregoing statement. Brownlow has never written a line to Mr. Fowler on the subject of impeachment. But if it will be *news* to the rebels to know how Fowler will vote, we will tell them—*he will vote to convict.* So, also, will two-thirds of the Senate." Knoxville *Whig,* May 6, 1868. An alleged letter of Brownlow to William B. Stokes, which was printed in the Louisville *Courier* on May 19, 1868, authorizing Stokes to offer Fowler an appointment to the state Supreme Court in return for his resignation from the Senate, was denounced by the governor as a forgery. Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* June 6, 1868.

[49]Nashville *Press and Times,* May 15, 1868.

[50]William G. Brownlow to John Covode, quoted in Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* Apr. 30, 1868.

[51]Writing to a friend on June 3, 1868, with regard to his vote on impeachment, Fowler said: "I acted in the great trial from a firm conviction of duty to my country, to the accused, to myself and to God. I separated myself from every person, and devoted myself to the study of the questions involved. I am satisfied that my conclusions were correct, and in strict accord with my oath and the laws. . . . It was not for me to do as others pleased. I acted for my country and have done what I regarded as a good act. My conscience and my reason approve it. Posterity will do justice to my judgment, if the present will not." Quoted in *ibid.,* June 13, 1868.

[52]*Ibid.,* May 16, 1868.

to disregard both the threats of the governor and the arguments of the congressional delegation,[53] and, as is well known, joined with six other recalcitrant Radicals in bringing about the acquittal of the president.[54]

Although the Conservative press had predicted that Senator Fowler would vote against conviction,[55] the news of his defection came as a shock to the Radicals. The Knoxville *Whig* apparently sought to ignore the information by merely stating that it had been mistaken in its earlier predictions, and filling the greater portion of the editorial columns of its next issue with a long "boiler-plate" article on the decline and fall of medieval chivalry.[56] The Nashville *Press and Times* announced itself

> surprised . . . not only surprised but astonished; as much so as if Etheridge had joined a colored league, or Jefferson Davis been admitted into full fellowship with the Grand Army of the Republic. . . . The Republicans are mortified, and the Democrats chuckle with irrepressible exultation. They have a right to. Long have we struggled against rebel malignity and Presidential perfidy, and it is almost too much for human forbearance to be stricken in the house of one's friends.[57]

On the broader question of the significance of the acquittal, the two parties remained virtually in the same positions which they had occupied throughout the trial. The Conservatives hailed the verdict as a rescue of the Senate "from the perilous edge of the abyss of infamy, to which the madness of party had brought it;"[58] and saluted Johnson as "today the strongest, as he is the ablest stateman in America," holding "an entrenched position at the head of affairs and in the estimation of the 'people,' whom he has never invoked in vain. . . . The record has borne him out, and the very superstition of the times is in his favor."[59] The Radicals, on the other hand, denied that the acquittal had touched "a single principle of their creed," or taken away "one arrow from their well-stocked quiver."[60] "Although we have failed in impeachment in the Senate," said the Nashville *Press and Times,* "the people will pronounce a verdict of guilty against Andrew Johnson at the polls next fall."[61]

[53]"Senator Fowler interrupted the loquacious delegates, and told them he felt no desire to hear any more arguments for the prosecution—that he had already heard quite enough in the high court, and with a few words by way of rebuke to the impertinence of his Radical advisers . . . turned on his heel and left." New York *Herald,* quoted in *ibid.,* May 20, 1868.

[54]For a convenient account of the way in which "the avenging furies of party malice" subsequently pursued Fowler and the other recalcitrants who voted to acquit the President, see George Fort Milton, *The Age of Hate* (New York, 1930), 627-32.

[55]Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* May 16, 1868.

[56]May 20, 1868.

to be:

[57]May 21, 1868.

[58]Nashville *Union and Dispatch,* May 27, 1868.

[59]Nashville *Republican Banner,* May 17, 1868.

[60]Nashville *Press and Times,* May 18, 1868.

[61]*Ibid.,* May 26, 1868.

Any reliable estimate of the numerical strength of the elements in Tennessee who respectively favored and apposed Johnson's policy would, for obvious reasons, be impossible to obtain. Considering the fact that the population of the state was at this time somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,200,000,[62] and taking either "the seventy-two thousand and odd" votes cast for Governor Brownlow in 1867[63] or the somewhat smaller number cast for Grant and Colfax in 1868,[64] as an indication of the anti-Johnson strength, it would seem that this faction represented a decided minority. Such an estimate, however, would ignore the disfranchised former Confederates, who, although bitterly opposed to Governor Brownlow, were by no means unanimous in their approval of Johnson. All that can be said, therefore, is that the Radicals, whatever their comparative numbers may have been, had the state under their control, and but for the recusancy of Senator Fowler would have contributed materially to the conviction of the president.

[62]The population of Tennessee was 1,258,520 in 1870. Charles A. Miller, *Official and Political Manual of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1890), 168.

[63]Actually the vote in 1867 was: Brownlow, 74,034; Etheridge, 22,550. *Ibid.*, 170.

[64]Tennessee's popular vote in the presidential election of 1868 was: Grant and Colfax, 56,628; Seymour and Blair, 26,129. *Ibid.*, 167.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE INTO TENNESSEE POLITICS

By J. A. Sharp

The agrarian movements that followed the Civil War were significant in American history. Constantly declining prices, mortgage burdens, overproduction, foreign competition, and recurring droughts had brought distress to the agricultural sections of the West and the South.[1] The farmers developed bitter grievances. Their hatred was directed against the "three alleged monopolies of land, money and transportation."[2] The evils complained of most often were contraction of the currency, high and discriminatory railroad rates, high interest rates, high tariff rates, and land monopoly by eastern syndicates. Confronted with real difficulties, the debt-ridden agrarian elements of the West and the South lost confidence in their old political leaders.

This distrust resulted in the establishment of numerous farmers' organizations between the years 1870 and 1890. Among these were the Grange, the Greenback party, and the Agricultural Wheel. The dominant notes of each were tariff reform, currency expansion, and railroad regulation. Such organizations prepared the field for the Farmers' Alliance which was organized first in Texas in 1875. Under the leadership of C. W. Macune, the Texas Alliance had expanded throughout the South by 1887.[3] This Southern Alliance was united with the national Agricultural Wheel in 1888, but attempts to unite the former organization with the Northwestern Alliance failed in 1889.[4] Adopt-

[1]For a general study of the agrarian movement, see the following: Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, 1920); Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Cambridge, 1913); John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931); Alex Matthews Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (Columbia University *Studies* in History, Economics, and Public Law, New York, 1922, CIV); Francis B. Simpkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, N. C., 1926); Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War* (Iowa City, 1916); Frank B. Tracy, "Rise and Doom of the Populist Party," *The Forum*, XVI (New York, 1893), 240-250; Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers," *The Forum*, X (New York, 1890), 315-322; Clarence N. Ousley, "A Lesson in Cooperation," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXVI (New York, 1890), 821-828; Frank M. Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," *Political Science Quarterly*, VI (New York, 1891), 282-310; L. L. Polk, "The Farmers' Discontent," *North American Review*, CLIII (1891), 8-12; John D. Hicks and John D. Barnhart, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (July, 1929), 250-275.

[2]Herman C. Nixon, "The Cleavage Within the Farmers' Alliance," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XV (1928-29), 22-33.

[3]Buck, *Agrarian Crusade*, 115.

[4]Nixon, *op. cit.*, 30, 31.

ing its first platform at St. Louis in 1889, the Southern Alliance demanded the abolition of national banks, free coinage of silver, tariff reduction, prohibition of alien ownership of land, a graduated income tax, government ownership of railroads, and the prevention of the dealing in futures in agricultural products.[5]

In Tennessee, as elsewhere, the Farmer's Alliance was preceded by the Grange, the Greenback party, and the Agricultural Wheel. The Alliance appeared first in the state in 1887; but the Wheel, which had been established some years earlier, was stronger, and the former organization grew slowly. These two agrarian orders were united at Nashville in 1889. The combined order was designated officially as the "Farmers' and Laborers' Union," but was known unofficially as simply the "Farmers' Alliance."[6] Membership in the Tennessee Alliance was limited to farmers and others closely associated with farmers, such as farm laborers, country mechanics, country teachers, country physicians, country ministers and editors of agricultural papers.[7] By 1890, Alliance leaders claimed 113,000 members in the state and conservative esimates placed the voting strength of Tennessee Alliance at 30,000 to 50,000.[8]

Like the national organization, the Tennessee Alliance had secret features of rituals, signs, grips, and passwords. Organized as a chartered business corporation, the Alliance maintained agencies in each grand division of the state.[9] These agencies were tax exempt and bought farm implements and supplies, which were sold to farmers at reduced prices, thus combatting the high prices of merchant middlemen.[10] County alliances also entered into various coöperative business enterprises.

Foremost among the leaders of the Farmers' Alliance in Tennessee was John H. McDowell of Obion county.[11] McDowell, a man of recognized ability, started the publication of the *Weekly Toiler* at Nashville in 1888, and this paper became the official organ of the Tennessee Alliance.[12] Serving as secretary, executive board member, and later as president of the Tennessee order, as well as vice-president of the Southern

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[5]Drew, *op. cit.*, 286-292.

[6]*The Weekly Toiler*, July 4, 1888, Aug. 14, 1889, May 4, 1890. This paper is hereafter cited as *Toiler*.

[7]*Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1890.

[8]*Ibid.*, July 16, 1890. Women could also become members of the Tennessee Alliance, but were non-voting and non-paying members.

[9]The charter was issued on October 30, 1889. Record in Secretary of State's office, Nashville.

[10]*Toiler*, Aug. 7, 1890. The Alliance agents appointed on July 23, 1890, were: George A. Gowan, of Marshall county, with headquarters at Nashville; E. A. McLester, of Hamblen county, with headquarters at Morristown (later, in 1890, Knoxville became the East Tennessee headquarters, and J. V. Fulkerson of Knox county was appointed agent); and T. J. Galloway, of Dickson county, with headquarters at Memphis.

[11]*Who's Who in Tennessee in 1911* (Memphis, 1911), 559, 560.

[12]In 1931, Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, state librarian, succeeded in finding one volume of the *Weekly Toiler* (1888-1890), which is now preserved in the State Library at Nashville.

Alliance, McDowell was influential among Tennessee farmers. He was a reformer by nature as is shown by his fight for prohibition laws and anti-gambling laws in the state legislatures of 1885 and 1887.[13] Politically independent throughout his life, McDowell was later to lead the People's party in Tennessee.[14] McDowell and the *Toiler* became the personification of the Tennessee Farmers' Alliance.

Through the columns of the *Toiler,* McDowell resolutely arraigned the trusts, corporations, land syndicates, Wall Street speculators, national banks, and agricultural gambling combines; or categorically, "the hungry herd of Shylocks," who he claimed were robbing and starving the debt-ridden and toiling masses.[15] The agrarian reform editor wholeheartedly subscribed to all the Alliance demands except government ownership of railroads. This Alliance demand was most popular in the West, and southern alliancemen rather generally considered it too radical. McDowell, however, favored strict government control of railroads, and warned the owners that unless fair rates were charged they would be compelled to "surrender the ownership and control of their lines into the hands of the body politic."[16]

The Alliance "Sub-Treasury" scheme, more radical than government ownership of railroads, was favored by McDowell and Tennessee alliancemen.[17] This Alliance proposal demanded the establishment by the federal government of sub-treasuries and warehouses in all counties of the United States which produced annual crops worth $500,000. The farmers were to store their "non-perishable" products in the warehouses, and receive deposit certificates which would entitle them to federal loans from the sub-treasuries. These loans were to equal eighty per cent of the value of the deposited products, and were to bear an annual interest rate of two per cent. Furthermore, the farmers were to have one year in which to repay their loans and redeem their deposited products; and if they failed to do this, the "Sub-Treasury" officials could sell these products at public auction.[18] This, perhaps, foreshadowed recent liberal credit and marketing facilities extended to the American farmers by the federal government.

The Southern Alliance entered the political arena in 1890, and the Tennessee gubernatorial campaign of that year presents a typical pic-

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[13]*Senate Journal,* 1885, pp. 178, 223, 258, 426, 555; *Senate Journal,* 1887, p. 225; *Acts of Tennessee,* 1885, pp. 256, 257. Hereafter cited as *Acts.*

[14]Dr. Nathan D. McDowell (Rochester, N. Y.) to the writer, May 14, 1931. Dr. McDowell, in reference to his father, said: "He was always inclined to be independent and in Roosevelt's Progressive Party campaign for the presidency in 1912, my father made a number of speeches for him."

[15]*Toiler,* 1888-1890.

[16]*Ibid.,* April 2, 1890.

[17]*Ibid.,* July 16, 1890.

[18]John D. Hicks, "The Sub-Treasury: A Forgotten Plan for the Relief of Agriculture," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XV (1928-29), 355-375.

ture of the secret agrarian order in politics. The Tennessee Alliance, working inside the Democratic party and not independently as in the West, was able to capture control of the party, and elect its state president, John P. Buchanan, to the governorship. This was in truth a revolution, but far less radical and spectacular than the Ben Tillman and Alliance revolt in South Carolina.[19] In 1890, the "small-farmer" element, or the "wool hat boys" of the South's third estate were determined to wrest control of the Democratic party from its old conservative leaders.

The Democratic party, dominant in Tennessee since the downfall of the Radical reconstruction regime in 1870, was divided into three rather distinct and antagonistic factions in 1890. The "small-farmer" element, former followers of both Jackson and Johnson, was leaderless after the death of the latter until united by Robert L. (Bob) Taylor in the celebrated "War of the Roses" campaign in 1886. The second distinct group in the Tennessee Democracy was composed of the old-line Whigs, who had "reluctantly followed the state into the Confederacy," and who had been driven into the party by Radical reconstruction policies and fear of Negro domination.[20] Colonel A. S. Colyar, Nashville journalist, was generally recognized as the leader of this faction, which was chiefly interested in the industrial development of the state. The third group included the old state rights Democrats, usually called the "Bourbons" or "machine" faction, who were led again by Senator Isham G. Harris, Tennessee's secession leader and Civil War governor.[21] This faction was in power during most of the period between 1870 and 1890, and its members were still jealous of the rights of the states.

Among the candidates for the Democratic nomination for governor of Tennessee in 1890 were: Jere Baxter, Josiah Patterson, John M. Taylor, and John P. Buchanan. Others were mentioned, including W. L. Clapp, J. D. C. Atkins, and Benton McMillin, but these received little support. Baxter, Patterson, and Buchanan were the strongest candidates.[22]

Jere Baxter was a Davidson county capitalist and railroad man. He also raised fine livestock and race horses on his beautiful estate, Maplewood, near Nashville. Early in 1890, the Nashville *Herald* started boosting Baxter for governor on the ground that he was a farmer and friendly

[19]Simpkins, *The Tillman Movement, passim.*

[20]Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), 15.

[21]*Ibid.*, 14-20. See also Daniel M. Robison, "The Political Background of Tennessee's War of the Roses," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 5 (1933), 125-128.

[22]Memphis *Avalanche*, Feb. 2, 7, 9, 13, 14, Mar. 11, 24, 25, 1890, quoting Clarksville *Progress*, Gallatin *Examiner*, Clifton *Times*, Crockett County *Democrat*, Riply *News*, Troy *News-Banner*, Linden *Herald*, and Lauderdale County *Enterprise;* Memphis *Commercial*, April 20, 24, May 13, 1890, quoting Union City *Democrat*, Covington *Leader*, and Clarksville *Chronicle;* Knoxville *Tribune*, Mar. 27, 1890, quoting Bristol *Courier;* Knoxville *Tribune*, April 11, 1890.

to the farmers' interests. Baxter's interests, however, were chiefly in connection with his railroad, coal, and iron holdings, and he had little success in persuading the farmers that he was their friend.[23] As one paper expressed it, Baxter never became the "ideal one gallus, copperas breeches, wool hat man with the hoe" that was necessary to please Tennessee farmers in 1890.[24] Baxter made a thorough canvass of the state, and he advocated the industrial development of the state in his speeches. His support came from the industrial element and the Colyar wing of the party rather than from the Alliance farmers.[25]

Josiah Patterson, successful Memphis lawyer, was a native of Mississippi, and had served as a colonel in the Confederate army under Tennessee's hero, Nathan B. Forrest.[26] He was quite prominent as a party leader, and was an intimate personal and political friend of Senator Harris.[27] Therefore, Patterson was the candidate of the Harris or "machine" wing of the party. In Memphis, he was affectionately termed "our big-brained old champion of Bourbon Democracy," and the "foremost man in the state."[28] The Nashville *American,* edited by Edward W. Carmack, and the Memphis *Scimitar* led the fight for Patterson's nomination.[29] Likewise, Democratic papers throughout the state rallied to the banner of "Uncle Josiah" and the cause of simon-pure Democracy. The *Toiler,* against seemingly overwhelming odds, entered the small list of newspapers opposed to the candidacy of Colonel Patterson. Even to the *Toiler,* Patterson was "able and scholarly," but McDowell and the Alliance organ did not like his corporation and political associations.[30] Besides, Patterson was opposed to most of the Alliance demands, and was outspoken against the "Sub-Treasury" plan.[31] As a bitter opponent of Republican centralization as well as one of Tennessee's chief proponents of a white man's government in the South, Patterson actively campaigned the state. He argued that the Republican tariff was the cause of the agricultural depression, but his old fashioned Democratic appeals failed to impress Tennessee farmers in 1890.[32]

John P. Buchanan was a farmer, and lived on his farm in Rutherford county, near Murfreesboro. Born in Williamson county in 1846, Buchanan had served as a youth in the Confederate army. In 1887 and 1889, he served as Rutherford county's representative in the state

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[23]Memphis *Avalanche,* Feb. 15, 1890; *Toiler,* Feb. 5, 1890.
[24]Knoxville *Tribune,* Jan. 11, 1890, quoting Memphis *Scimitar.*
[25]Robison, *Bob Taylor,* 139, 140; Knoxville *Journal,* Aug. 17, 1890.
[26]John Trotwood Moore, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State 1769-1923,* II (Nashville, 1923), 207.
[27]Memphis *Avalanche,* Feb. 15, 1890. See also Robison, *Bob Taylor,* 139.
[28]Knoxville *Tribune,* April 2, 11, 1890, quoting Memphis *Scimitar.*
[29]Knoxville *Journal,* July 5, 1890, quoting Nashville *American.*
[30]*Toiler,* May 21, June 11, 1890.
[31]*Ibid.,* April 30, 1890.
[32]Knoxville *Tribune,* April 24, 1890.

legislature, and worked diligently for the passage of the act exempting Alliance agencies from taxation.[33] Buchanan was the first president of the Tennessee Alliance, and in 1889 he became president of the combined Alliance and Wheel.[34] Never prominent in the Democratic party, Buchanan had served creditably in its ranks as had most of his fellow Alliance-Democrats, who now prepared to make him the leader of their party as well as of their secret order. From the first, McDowell was Buchanan's campaign manager; and through the columns of the *Toiler* and in Alliance meetings, he appealed to the farmers not to allow "scheming politicians" to defeat their candidate.[35]

With the state's leading politicians and newspapers opposed to Buchanan, the task that McDowell formulated for the farmers was not easy. The Alliance leader recognized this, and advised the farmers to obtain control of the county conventions and instruct their "delegates to the state convention to vote for the Hon. J. P. Buchanan for governor as long as his name is before the convention."[36] There was little harmony in the county conventions, and the delegates were divided often between Baxter, Patterson, and Buchanan. In Knox county, James V. Fulkerson, president of the county Alliance, was chosen chairman of the county convention by a combination of Baxter and Buchanan votes. Of the thirty-nine delegates chosen, twenty-five were Buchanan men and fourteen were Baxter men.[37] In Democratic Sullivan county, where the Alliance was very strong, the Baxter and Patterson Democrats united in an attempt to defeat the Alliance-Democrats, but the latter were strong enough to instruct the delegates for Buchanan.[38]

Such was the situation throughout the state. Wherever the farmers were strong enough, they captured the county conventions and instructed the delegates to the state Democratic convention for Buchanan. The Alliance candidate's greatest strength was in the agricultural counties of Middle Tennessee and West Tennesssee where the Alliance was the strongest. Even rural Shelby county supported him, but Memphis Democrats were able to instruct the county's delegates for Patterson.[39] Nevertheless, the farmers gained control in the adjoining counties of Tipton and Hardeman, and instructed the delegates for Buchanan.[40] In Middle Tennessee, Buchanan received all the delegates from Marshall, Warren, Grundy, Van Buren, Stewart, White, and Cannon counties.[41] Rural East Tennessee, on the other hand, was not so favorable to the farmers'

[33] *Acts*, 1889, pp. 346, 347.
[34] *Toiler*, May 7, 1890.
[35] Knoxville *Tribune*, Jan. 28, 1890.
[36] *Toiler*, April 16, 1890.
[37] Knoxville *Tribune*, June 22, 1890; *Toiler*, June 25, 1890.
[38] Knoxville *Journal*, July 8, 9, 1890.
[39] Memphis *Commercial*, May 19, 23, 1890; *Toiler*, July 9, 16, 1890.
[40] Memphis *Commercial*, May 20, June 3, 1890.
[41] Memphis *Appeal*, June 13, 1890; Memphis *Commercial*, April 9, June 15, 1890; Knoxville *Journal*, July 6, 8, 1890; *Toiler*, June 11, 1890.

candidate, but he had strong support in Blount and Greene counties, as well as in Knox and Sullivan.[42] Patterson's greatest support came from Memphis and Shelby county. He was also strong in Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville. In these industrial centers, the conservatism of the "Bourbon" candidate was more popular than the Alliance doctrines of cheap money and government ownership. The industrial candidate, Baxter, obtained most of his convention support from industrial and agricultural East Tennessee, where it was said that he had spent considerable money advertising his Maplewood estate in the country press.[43] Baxter also received the delegates from Davidson county where he lived.

The Democratic convention convened at Nashville on July 15, and was called appropriately the "Farmers' Convention," because at least a majority of the sixteen hundred delegates were farmers. Sweltering under the July sun, the farmers, as one editor expressed it, doubtless longed for "good spring water and fresh air, the songs of birds and the sight of growing corn and green grass."[44] In fact, it was predicted by many that the farmers would grow restless and go home before Buchanan could be nominated. The Alliance farmers, however, showed little evidence of restlessness, and in secret meetings they pledged manager McDowell to stay until Buchanan was nominated. At last, the apathetic farmers were aroused; and they defiantly announced the "death knell of the Democratic party" if Buchanan were defeated, and declared that in the future they expected to "vote for that party that will legislate in our behalf."[45]

As predicted by McDowell, Buchanan received 739 votes on the first ballot.[46] This lacked only 100 votes of being a majority, but the Democratic rule required a two-thirds majority for nomination. Patterson was second with 370 votes, and Baxter third with 291. John M. Taylor, former West Tennessee congressman, received 177 votes on the first ballot. Only once did Buchanan's vote fall below 700 during the three days of balloting.[47] Finally, the Patterson and Baxter delegates became convinced that their cause was hopeless, and on the twenty-sixth ballot Buchanan's nomination was declared unanimous.[48] The "Hayseeds" were wildly enthusiastic, and it was reported that McDowell "lost his senses and his hat in hilarious rejoicing."[49] There was so much con-

[42]Memphis *Appeal,* June 13, 1890; *Toiler,* June 10, 1890; Knoxville *Tribune,* June 15, 1890, quoting Nashville *Banner.*

[43]Knoxville *Journal,* July 5, 1890; *Toiler,* Mar. 5, 1890.

[44]Knoxville *Journal,* July 16, 1890.

[45]*Ibid.,* July 18, 1890.

[46]*Toiler,* July 16, 1890.

[47]Knoxville *Journal,* July 16, 17, 18, 1890.

[48]Memphis *Appeal,* July 19, 1890.

[49]*Toiler,* July 23, 1890.

fusion and disorder that one man said that, in comparison, "the playground of insane asylum would be like an old maid's seven o'clock tea."[50]

Victorious in nominating their candidate, the Alliance-Democrats did not insist that the "Sub-Treasury" plan or any of their other radical demands be placed in the platform. The usual Democratic platform, condemning the Republican party as the party of Wall Street, high tariff, and federal election control, was adopted. Nevertheless, the platform contained the Alliance demand for free coinage of silver, and approached the Alliance viewpoint in regard to public lands by condemning the federal practice of granting large tracts to corporations. Railroads were not mentioned, but the Tennessee Alliance was not interested in the railroad question. In state affairs, the Democrats favored an increase in free school facilities, strict economy and fair taxation, better public roads, promotion of industry, and classification of convicts.[51]

After Buchanan's nomination, it was recognized by all elements of the party that harmony must prevail to prevent the Republicans from coming into power. Both Patterson and Baxter pledged the nominee their support.[52] Even Senator Harris denied that he had actively opposed Buchanan, but signifiicantly admitted that Patterson, his Memphis neighbor, had been his first choice.[53] "Bob" Taylor, retiring governor, also supported the party's nominee. Although he had won the governorship in 1886 and 1888 with the support of Buchanan's "wool hat boys," Taylor had taken no active part in the campaign for either of the candidates for the Democratic nomination in 1890.[54] Thus, the Democrats entered the gubernatorial campaign with some semblance of harmony.

Notwithstanding the desire for harmony, the jubilant McDowell was not restrained from writing:

> The shrewdest politicians in the state, trained for years in political wire pulling, have been out-witted and beaten by the "hayseeds" in a fair, square, and open fight, which they have gracefully acknowledged and fallen into line with a will that inspires perfect harmony in the Democratic party.[55]

This statement must have clanged harshly upon the ears of the defeated "Bourbons," but even the Alliance leader realized the importance of harmony and hastened to advise the Alliance-Democrats to exhibit a

[50]Knoxville *Journal,* July 17, 1890.

[51]Charles A. Miller, *Official and Political Manual of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1890), 343, 344. In regard to the last point, the platform stated: "We favor a modfication of our penal system so that there may be a proper classification of convicts, to the end that minors and those committing small offenses may be kept separate from hardened criminals. . . ." *Ibid.,* 344.

[52]Memphis *Appeal,* July 19, 1890.

[53]Nashville *American,* Oct. 26, 1890; Knoxville *Tribune,* Oct. 17, 1890, quoting Nashville *Banner.*

[54]Robison, *Bob Taylor,* 140, 141.

[55]*Toiler,* July 23, 1890.

"spirit of conservatism."[56] The widespread fear that the Alliance, when in power, would demand class legislation unfriendly to industry, also led McDowell to advise the farmers to grant justice to the railroad, industrial, and mining interests. McDowell's task was to moderate the radical principles of the Alliance, and thus obtain the support of the disaffected elements of the party. In a thorough canvass of the state, McDowell assured the lawyers, bankers, and merchants that they had nothing to fear from Alliance legislation. On the contrary, he emphasized that all interests would benefit alike from currency expansion legislation which the Alliance advocated. McDowell even admitted that the "Sub-Treasury" plan needed modification, but he never lost faith in the basic principles of this plan.[57]

Republicans were gleeful in the defeat of the "Bourbons," and with great satisfaction the Republican Knoxville *Journal* summarized the situation:

> What a collection of scalps hang in Buchanan's belt. There are first the bald pate of Senator Harris, second, the red heads of Josiah and Jere, and then there is the bald pate of Bob Taylor and the ponderous ears of Edward W. Carmack of the *American*.[58]

Comparing the Tennessee political situation with the Ben Tillman and Alliance revolt in South Carolina, the *Journal* continued:

> In the wreck of worlds and the crush of matter such 18-karat Democrats as Wade Hampton and Josiah Patterson bite the dust; but Tillman and Buchanan find the goose hanging high. . . . If any man claims the Democratic party in Tennessee is the Democratic party of Jackson, Aaron V. Brown and Andrew Johnson, let him rise up in his place and say so—and then hustle off to an asylum for weakminded persons.[59]

The Republican party, the minority party in Tennessee since 1870, was hopeful of victory in 1890, but recent state election laws made such a victory improbable. In 1889 and 1890, the Tennessee legislature had enacted three election laws which tended to decrease the Republican Negro vote. The first of these was the "Myer's" registration law which required voters to mark their own ballots secretly, unless blind or other-precincts, and present registration certificates to the election officials.[60]

[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1890.
[58] July 28, 1890.
[59] July 19, 1890.
[60] *Acts*, 1889, pp. 414-420. At first, registration was required in "all towns, cities, and civil districts" having a voting population of 500, but the law was changed in 1890 to apply to all counties that had a population of 70,000 and towns of 2,500. This was to make the registration law agree with the "Dortch" law which applied to counties of 70,000 and towns of 2,500. Then in 1890, when the "Dortch" law was amended to apply to all counties of 50,000 population, the registration law was changed also. However, the clause, "voting population of 50,000," inserted in the amended registration law, virtually annulled both the registration law and the "Dortch" law, because no county in the state had so large a "voting" population. The legislature, during the extra session in 1891, amended the registration law, and left out the word "voting."

The second was the so-called "Dortch" law, an application of the Australian secret ballot to the more populous counties and cities, which required voters to mark their own ballots secretly, unless blind or otherwise physically disabled.[61] The third law required the payment of a poll tax.[62] It was believed that such restrictive election laws would prevent hundreds of Republican Negroes from voting.

The Republican candidate was Lewis T. Baxter, Nashville banker and business man. In most respects, the Republican platform was in strict accord with the party's national creeds. The effort of the Harrison administration to enact a protective tariff was endorsed; and the recent Silver Purchase Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act were hailed as a settlement of the currency and trust problems. Tennessee Republicans, however, were lukewarm toward the administration's attempt to enact the Lodge bill for control of federal elections in the South. This Lodge bill, or "Force Bill," as it was termed by southern Democrats, was endorsed only in a resolution attached to the platform, and the Republican candidate, Baxter, opposed it in his canvass of the state, which was doubtless a strategic move to obtain the support of the anti-Buchanan Democrats. In state affairs, the Republican platform heartily denounced the Democratic control of the state government, and declared that the Democrats were responsible for the heavy taxation burdens, the increase of the state debt, and the convict lease system.[63] The Republicans also described the state election laws as "mean and oppressive," and stated that these laws "discriminated in every instance against the poor and illiterate citizens of the state."[64]

The Prohibition party also had a candidate for governor in 1890. D. C. Kelly, a Southern Methodist minister, who had been called the "Fighting Parson" by his Confederate comrades during the war, was nominated by the prohibitionists.[65] As the Nashville *American* observed, Kelly had had a varied career as "soldier, preacher, after-dinner speaker, lecturer, and author," and was now going into "politics . . . as a candidate for office."[66] Kelly's entrance into politics was not favored by many in his church, and he was suspended rather arbitrarily from the Methodist conference.[67] The Prohibition platform condemned both major parties for legalizing the liquor traffic, and demanded the "suppression of the entire traffic." The Prohibition party took specific notice of the Alliance, and asked for the support of "farmers, workingmen, and all

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[61] *Ibid.*, 364-371. At first, the "Dortch" law applied to all counties of 70,000 population and towns of 9,000, but in 1891 it was changed to apply to all counties of 50,000 population.

[62] *Acts*, 1890 (extra session), p. 67.

[63] Miller, *op. cit.*, 345, 346.

[64] *Ibid.*, 346.

[65] Moore, *op cit.*, 165.

[66] Knoxville *Tribune*, June 8, 1890, quoting Nashville *American*.

[67] Knoxville *Journal*, Oct. 12, 1890.

wage earners." Like the Democrats, the prohibitionists condemned the trusts, and favored the recent state election laws; and like the Republicans they condemned the convict lease system.[68] As a candidate, Kelly gave slight attention to the prohibition question, and made the race as a lifelong and simon-pure Democrat. Therefore, Buchanan, and the secret Alliance machine which had brought about his nomination, received the brunt of Kelly's attack; and it was feared that he would receive enough votes to cause the election of the Republican candidate, Baxter.[69]

Buchanan's campaign for governor began in the annual Farmers' Alliance convention in Nashville on August 12. As anticipated by many, John H. McDowell succeeded Buchanan to the presidency of the farmers' order.[70] Although reporters were excluded from the convention and little of the proceedings was made known to the public, some rumors did escape. For instance, it was reported that eligibility for membership in the Alliance was extended to city mechanics, but that membership was denied to farmers who had mercantile and banking interests.[71] It was also reported that Buchanan appealed the alliancemen to be more moderate in regard to the "Sub-Treasury" plan.[72]

As the candidate of the Democratic party, Buchanan was forced to be silent on most of the Alliance demands. This silence gave the Republicans a good weapon, and they proceeded to make good use of it. T. M. McConnell, chairman of the Democratic state executive committee, toured the state with Buchanan, and the Republican Knoxville *Journal* said that if McConnell "can't take the Alliance garments off of Buchanan and dress him up in a Democratic suit from head to foot, upon which there is not the slightest smell of hayseed, nobody else can. . . . This will be done so completely that only the trained eye of an expert can detect where the Alliance Buck ends, and the Democratic Buck begins."[73] Apparently this disguising of Buchanan was accomplished. Speaking first on September 2 at McGovick's Grove, near Franklin, Buchanan's nearest approach to the Alliance demands was that he favored "such measures of relief as would be brought about by wise legislation that would place the interests of the agriculturists on an equality in the grand battle of life."[74] Later, he opposed corporation land holdings in the West and Republican financial contraction; in this opposition, however, he was supported by the Democratic platform. Buchanan did not mention the proposed "Sub-Treasury" system, or any of the other radical

[68]Miller, *op cit.*, 346, 347.
[69]Chattanooga *Times*, Oct. 30, 1890; Knoxville *Journal*, Sept. 14, 1890.
[70]Knoxville *Journal*, Aug. 16, 1890. The other officers elected were: E. B. Wade, secretary; R. W. Tucker, state lecturer; E. C. Griffin, first vice-president; Matt Rhea, second vice-president; executive board members:—H. L. W. Taylor, T. B. Reese, A. H. Taylor, A. L. Mims, and J. E. Baxter.
[71]Nashville *American*, Sept. 16, 1890.
[72]Knoxville *Journal*, Aug. 13, 14, 15, 1890.
[73]July 21, 1890.
[74]Knoxville *Journal*, Sept. 3, 1890.

Alliance demands during the campaign, although the Republican candidate, Baxter, insisted that he pronounce himself in regard to these questions.[75] Buchanan's answer was that most of the Alliance demands would require national legislation; and therefore had no place in the state campaign. He was a good Democratic candidate, and closely adhered to such traditional Democratic issues as low tariff, white supremacy, and equal privileges for all; at the same time, he severely castigated the Republican party as the party of high tariff, the "Force Bill," and special privileges. In state affairs, Buchanan favored the removal of the state prison from Nashville and the classification of the convicts, but he did not favor the abolition of the convict lease system.[76] The latter problem was destined to cause him much grief during his administration.[77]

Considerable opposition to Buchanan was raised by some "Bourbon" Democrats because of his silence on Alliance demands. The independent Nashville *Banner* stated the attitude of these anti-Buchanan Democrats:

> Mr. Buchanan claims to be a Democrat because he has stood upon a Democratic platform. . . . No more violence would have been done his policies if he had mounted a Republican, Alliance, or Prohibition platform. It seems that there is a mixture of them all in him. As a paternalist and class legislationist, he is a good Republican, as a low tariff and state rights man, a good Democrat, as a sub-treasury schemer, class legislationist and paternalist, he is a good secret political Alliance man, and they say his past record on prohibition is good. He is a good average, well mixed, all round Democratic, Alliance, Republican Prohibitionist. A splendid bare back rider, astride of four horses all at once and each horse going at full speed in four different directions. He can't be jostled but sticks to all four. His platform is more than a trinity, it has four-in-one—Democrat, Republican, Alliance, and Prohibition.[78]

Although the *Banner* exaggerated Buchanan's political affiliations, his dualistic connections with the Alliance and the Democratic party placed him in a rather awkward position before both of the groups to which he owed allegiance. Republicans attempted to persuade the Alliance-Democrats that their former president, because of his silence on Alliance demands, had turned traitor; but these efforts were of no avail because the alliancemen were convinced that Buchanan was true to their order as well as to their party. Only a small minority of "Bourbons" continued to oppose Buchanan and his connections with the "isms" of the

[75] *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1890.

[76] *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1890.

[77] A. C. Hutson, Jr., "The Coal Miners' Insurrections of 1891 in Anderson County, Tennessee," and "The Overthrow of the Convict Lease System in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 7 (1935), 103-121, No. 8 (1936), 82-103.

[78] Knoxville *Journal*, Oct. 12, 1890, quoting Nashville *Banner*.

"secret dark lantern political organization whose workings will not bear the light of day."[79]

The majority of Tennessee Democrats, fearing Republican rule more than Buchanan, followed their leaders by supporting the Democratic candidate. Besides Senator Harris and Governor Taylor, such Democratic leaders as Senator William B. Bate, the veteran ex-Congressman, J. D. C. Atkins, ex-Governor Albert S. Marks, and the defeated Josiah Patterson, as well as the Democratic congressional candidates, aided in Buchanan's campaign.[80] These men entered the campaign not because they were strong Buchanan supporters, but because they were afraid that the combined vote of Baxter and Kelly would cause their party's defeat and result in the election of Baxter.[81]

At Gallatin, on October 3, Patterson appealed to the business men and lawyers, his former supporters, to support Buchanan "for the sake of Democracy."[82] At Chattanooga, on November 1, Governor Taylor, in his inimitable style, announced his faith in Buchanan and Democracy:

I am a farmer from away up the creek. I am in favor of pumpkin pie, persimmons, o'possums, hog and hominy, turnip greens, chittlins, Buchanan, . . . and Democracy.[83]

Then somewhat irrelevantly, he continued:

Fellow citizens, the old ship of state is sailing on, and I am on the deck. Let us cut a watermelon, open a pumpkin; peel a turnip, and see the sugar in the gourd.[84]

Lauding the Democratic party as coming from Jefferson, "like Minerva as she sprang from the brain of Jupitor [*sic.*] to save the world," "Our Bob" launched into a vigorous denunciation of the Republican tariff, which he said had "raised the tax upon wool hats and lowered it upon silk hats." Continuing against everything Republican, he said, "they have made Speaker Reed, a Czar," and the "Force Bill will allow hundreds of your best citizens to be cast into prison without knowing what it is being done for."[85] Such arguments were effective in minimizing the connections of Buchanan with the Alliance and healing the wounds of the Tennessee Democracy.

[79]Knoxville *Journal,* Oct. 10, 1890, quoting McMinnville *Standard.*

[80]Nashville *American,* Oct. 26, 1890.

[81]Knoxville *Tribune,* Oct. 17, 18, 1890, quoting Linden *Herald,* Clarksville *Progress,* Nashville *Herald,* Nashville *American,* Chattanooga *News,* and Jackson *Tribune and Sun.*

[82]Nashville *American,* Sept. 25, Oct. 4, 1890.

[83]Chattanooga *Times,* Nov. 2, 1890.

[84]*Ibid.*

[85]*Ibid.*

When the votes were counted, Buchanan had received 113,549, Baxter, 76,081, and Kelly, 11,082. This gave Buchanan a plurality of 26,486.[86] Buchanan, the Democratic-Alliance candidate, had won, but the victory was at the cost of future party harmony as later events proved.

Paralleling the gubernatorial campaign were the Tennessee congressional campaigns of 1890. As in other southern states, the Farmers' Alliance submitted its demands to candidates for Congress. The Alliance, however, followed a more conservative course in Tennessee than it did in Georgia, and did not proscribe the regular Democratic candidates.[87] This does not mean that Tennessee farmers did not exert an unusual influence upon congressional candidates. In fact, all the Democratic candidates were pledged to support the Alliance demand for free coinage of silver, but this was also a part of the state Democratic platform. In other respects, the Democratic candidates showed themselves friendly toward the Alliance; and at least one Democratic congressman, Rice A. Pierce, endorsed all the Alliance demands, including the radical "Sub-Treasury" proposal.[88]

No better proof of the conservatism of the Tennessee Farmers' Alliance is needed than a brief review of Buchanan's administration. Contrary to "Bourbon" fears, the Democratic-Alliance governor did not recommend radical trust, taxation, or railroad legislation; and although recognizing the "widespread discontent" among the farmers, he stated the characteristic Alliance viewpoint that federal instead of state legislation was needed for the alleviation of agricultural distress.[89] Nevertheless, agrarian influence was noticeable in the legislature of 1891, since a majority of its members were alliancemen and farmers.[90]

In respect to trust regulation, Governor Buchanan, in his first message to the General Assembly, made a sharp distinction between "individual enterprise" and "corporate enterprise," and he advised the lawmakers that "whenever individual enterprise is fully competent to meet the necessities of the case, corporate enterprise should be excluded."[91] More specifically, he asked them for a law to require all state corporations to subscribe to an oath "that the corporation is not now a party to a trust, and does not contemplate in the future the forming of a trust."[92] Like Buchanan, the legislature showed its distrust of corpora-

[86]Election results from Secretary of State's office, Nashville.

[87]*Arnett, The Populist Movement in Georgia, passim.*

[88]Knoxville *Journal,* Aug. 12, 1890; *Toiler,* May 21, June 25, July 2, Aug. 13, 1890. The congressmen elected in 1890, were: Republicans:—A. A. (Alf) Taylor, first district; L. C. Houk, second district. Democrats:—H. C. Snodgrass, third district; Benton McMillin, fourth district; James D. Richardson, fifth district; Joseph E. Washington, sixth district; N. W. Cox, seventh district; B. A. Enloe, eighth district; Rice A. Pierce, ninth distrct; and Josiah Patterson, tenth district.

[89]*House Journal,* 1891, p. 150.

[90]Miller, *op cit.,* 246-248.

[91]*House Journal,* 1891, p. 163.

[92]*Ibid.*

tions by the passage of an act which declared unlawful "all trusts, pools, contracts, arrangements, and combinations in restraint of trade, production, manufacture, or sale."[93] Another act required foreign corporations doing business in the state to file their charters with the secretary of state and with the registers of the counties in which their corporations operated.[94] A third act required every insurance corporation to file a statement of its capital stock, property, assets, liabilities, annual income, and annual expenditures with the state insurance commissioner.[95] In the further interest of trust control, there was enacted a measure which required building and loan associations to deposit $25,000 with the state treasurer to protect those doing business with such corporations.[96]

Most indicative of the anti-corporation sentiment of this farmer-controlled assembly were the provisions of the proposed revenue bill. This bill proposed a great increase in corporation privilege taxes. For instance, the annual privilege tax on flour mills was to be raised from $25 to $1,000, and that on street car companies from $350 to $5,000.[97] The bill also discriminated against the more populous counties in favor of the small rural counties by providing that corporations in the former counties should be taxed more heavily than those in the latter.[98] The press greeted this revenue bill as a plain attempt to relieve the farmers from some of their taxation burdens. The Nashville *Banner,* in its argument against the bill, said: "It seems to be framed with the end in view of bleeding corporations and industrial enterprises by imposing burdensome privilege taxes."[99] The Nashville *American* said that it was a "harsh, unjust and unequal" attempt to shift taxation burdens from one class to another, and "to confiscate rather than tax, to ruin private industry rather than fill the public treasury, and to raise hell rather than revenue."[100] The result of such opposition was the defeat of the bill, and the revenue act of 1889 remained in force until the assembly, during the extra session held later in 1891, passed a revenue bill without the high privilege taxes.[101]

Although not recommended by Governor Buchanan, some conservative railroad legislation was enacted during the regular session of the assembly in 1891. One act authorized railroads to acquire branches or extensions to their lines, but did not permit powerful companies to absorb weak and competing lines.[102] Another act, with an agricultural

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[93] *Acts,* 1891, p. 428.
[94] *Ibid.,* 264.
[95] *Ibid.,* 83.
[96] *Ibid.,* 17.
[97] Knoxville *Journal,* Mar. 22, 1891.
[98] Knoxville *Journal,* Mar. 21, 1891, quoting Nashville *Banner.*
[99] Mar. 21, 1891.
[100] Mar. 21, 1891.
[101] *Acts,* 1891 (extra session), 50-74.
[102] *Acts,* 1891, p. 274.

tinge, made the railroads liable for damages to livestock injured or killed by them, and provided for the appraisal of such damages.[103] It was also this legislature that required all railroads in the state to provide separate cars for white and colored passengers.[104] Besides these acts, the assembly showed its interest in the transportation problem by passing an act to encourage the federal construction of two canals, one from the Cumberland River to the Tennessee River, and the other from the Tennessee to the Mississippi. This act empowered the governor to appoint a commission to make the surveys and estimate the cost of construction of the canals; and directed the Tennessee senators and representatives to transmit this information to Congress.[105] In accordance with the Alliance viewpoint that high and discriminatory railroad rates could be corrected best by federal legislation, this assembly adopted a resolution which requested that the Interstate Commerce Commission exercise more stringent control over the means of transportation.[106]

Perhaps, Alliance influence in this legislature was shown most plainly by the adoption of two resolutions. One of these requested the Tennessee senators to vote against the Conger lard bill, which proposed the taxation of cotton-seed oil.[107] The other resolution asked the Tennessee representatives to vote for an amendment to the federal constitution requiring the popular election of United States senators.[108]

This brief review of Buchanan's administration has shown that the Democratic-Alliance governor was not as radical as the "Bourbons" had feared he would be. Neither had the Alliance demanded radical state legislation to cure the farmers' ills. In fact, Governor Buchanan's administration was very similar to former Democratic administrations in Tennessee.

Although the Tennessee Farmers' Alliance was not active in the legislature, the same cannot be said in regard to the agrarian organization outside the legislative halls in 1891. Encouraged by his victory over the "Bourbons" in 1890, John H. McDowell lost no time in organizing the "wool hat boys" for a similar victory in 1892; McDowell's work of organization, however, was complicated by the appearance of the People's party in Tennessee, and the absorption of the Alliance by this party. Furthermore, the "Bourbons," regretting their compromise with the Alliance, did not lose any time in repudiating McDowell and Buchanan and in organizing their forces for a battle to the death against the secret Alliance machine. This conflict was hotly and bitterly contested in the gubernatorial campaign of 1892, and resulted in the return of the "Bourbons" to power in Tennessee.

[103] *Ibid.*, 220.
[104] *Ibid.*, 135.
[105] *Ibid.*, 412.
[106] *Ibid.*, 540.
[107] *Ibid.*, 506.
[108] *Ibid.*, 572.

JOURNAL OF EVENTS (1825-1873) OF DAVID ANDERSON DEADERICK

Edited by SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS*

(Continued from East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 8)

1854

A long time and varied events have passed since the date of my last record; during which much change and no little progress has been seen in East Tennessee. We have been behind all, or almost all the states, in the great distinguishing mark of the few past years, that of internal improvement, especially that by means of *Rail Roads*. But we now have railroads and shall have many more and our *central* town of Knoxville will before long be accessible from the North, East, South and West, and as I think, the great Pacific R. Road is to pass, as its most direct and natural way, from the cities of the East, directly through *Knoxville*. The great event *to me*, however, has been a long land travel to California, since the date of my last record; and in this travel I think we passed over the very route which will make a material, and what may have been considered a difficult portion of the Pacific railroad route. I think the route should go, and will go, from Memphis, or some neighboring crossing of the Mississippi, through Arkansas and Texas; to the neighborhood of El Paso on the Rio del Norte; thence, south of the Gila river, through the territory lately acquired by treaty from Mexico, (being the country through which we travelled to California) to San Diego on the Pacific. I think that that portion of this route over which we passed, that is, from the del Norte river, in about latitude 33° North, to Warner's ranch, 65 or 70 miles from San Diego, will be found practicable as to its topography. No mountains are in the way. The Siera Madra, the prolongation of the rocky mountains, have subsided into the hills; and at the other extremity of this portion of the route, the spurs of the coast range present no greater difficulties, or if greater, none that are seriously in the way. The distance (say from Washington) to the Pacific would be 200 miles or more nearer, than by the central or *Benton* route, heading the del Norte; and the difficulties be far less from high grades and nothing as to winter snows.

Our travel to California under the lead of Genl. Alexd. Anderson, my brother-in-law, and cousin, was commenced from Knoxville May 4, 1849. We designed going by way of Independence, Mo., the South Pass, Salt Lake, St. Mary's river, etc. But on reaching the frontier, our progress had been so slow and the time to refit our broken down animals so long that at St.

*For the editor's "foreword" see the beginning of the first installment of this *Journal* in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 121-22.

Joseph's, Mo., we concluded we should not have time to pass safely the snows of the Siera Navada; and so turned south, via Sante Fe, the Gila, mouth of same, and to the extreme south part of California. This route we followed, and after wintering in New Mexico, reached the gold mines, near Sonora, on the 16th May, 1850, a little more than one year after leaving Knoxville.

I reached home from California 25th March 1851, and our son John Crozier who had gone with me, and whom I left there, returned in January 1852.

On the 1st of July, 1851, I formed a parternership with Robert Craighead, to do a receiving and forwarding business and also commission business, and we have occupied the warehouse owned by the estate of James Park, Esq., now dec'd, ever since at the foot of Prince street.

The cholera first appeared in Knoxville about the 1st September of this year. The greatest mortality was in about 24 hours.

1855

The R. Road for some time past toward Knoxville, from Savannah and Charleston and Nashv. (via Dalton) terminated at Loudon, formerly Blair's Ferry; 30 miles west of or below Knoxville on the river. Our business has, in connecting with this road, been altogether by the river, in small steamers, which in ordinary seasons, have been able to ply summer. This last summer, though a dry one, there was about 2 weeks of interruption, from low water. On the 4th July, however, the railroad from Loudon to Knoxville was opened formerly [formally]; and [use of] our river from Loudon is almost entirely superseded. A boat yet plies, bringing up coal and iron, and one yet runs with some regularity between Chattanooga and Knoxville. And although some think our river will be in a good measure superseded by the railroad, I doubt not it will be much used, especially above Knoxville, to bring down the products of the country during the high water.

In November of this year I went into the Miners & Manufacturer's Bank—John L. King President, as its Cashier. The business not being now sufficient fully to occupy my time, I am still in the mornings and afternoons at the warehouse.

On the 9th of July of this year, our son David left, via New York, for California.

1857

On the 14th day of July of last year (1856) our son Robert left home to seek his fortune in Minnesota Territory; and has since been in the neighborhood of St. Paul, and located in a cabin, on 160 acres of land, where he remained during the winter, one of the coldest, not only there, but here and in all parts of the U. States, that has been remembered. His location is about 2½ miles from Lakeville, some 25 miles west of St. Paul. David, not being successful in digging gold in California, left it on Dec. 20th, 1856, and went to Nicaragua and joined Walker, who has been sometime there endeavoring to establish himself in the government of that country. He reached home (Knoxville) 15th April, 1857. (David died December 2, 1860.)

1858

I have made, in the preceeding pages, no record of events personal to myself, pryor to the date of my commencing this record. I have supposed that even trivial events in a parent's life, might have interest for his children or grandchildren; and hence I go back to my earliest recollection, with a rapid notice to the time of the beginning of this—A. D. 1825.

I was born, at our residence on the hill N. W. of the C. [ourt] house in Jonesboro T. on the 23rd of March 1797—all my brothers and sisters were born in the same house. My father and mother after their marriage for a year or more, lived in what was afterwards the lumber house, near the foot of the hill, back of the store, now my brother James's law office. I can remember that when a small child, Uncle James V. Anderson, lived in the same house and we spent the evening there, Gen'l. And. Jackson making one of the company, while holding court as circuit judge in Jonesboro. I can recollect something of the incident which occured while he acted as judge, in having himself apprehended Russell Bean, for cutting off his own child's ears, after the Sheriff had failed in his efforts to take Russell. I remember seeing Russell with a large knife on a horse riding in the skirts of the town.

I first went to school to a Mrs. Tray, who taught in a large log house back of our orchard lot, near the N. E. corner of the lot, about the spot on which James Brown has built and now lives. She taught a girls school, her son John and myself being the only boys. I afterwards was taught by Rev. John C. Harris, or chiefly by him, until I went to Greeneville College, then taught by Rev. Charles Coffin, D. D. I took the course taught there, almost entirely except the Greek, and consequently took no diploma.

I aided in my father's store after I had finished my education and in 1816 married Adelaide E. Jackson, and removed to Cheek's Cross Roads where I did business as a partner with my father, in merchandise till the death of my wife in Dec. 1817.

In the spring of 1819 I went, in company with Uncle James Aiken, to England. Two manuscripts vols contain hastily penned minutes of my travels there and in Scotland.[1] In May 1820 we reached New York from London.

I married my cousin Sarah Ann Helms in Abingdon, Va. Nov. 1820, and again moved to Cheek's Cross Roads, where as before I was a partner of my father in business.

My second wife dying in Dec. 1821, I returned to Jonesboro, where I lived with my father, till his death in 1823. And afterward my mother and I were partners in a mercantile concern, which we removed from Jonesboro to Somerville in West Tennessee.

My mother and myself and the family removed in the fall of 1828, to the Farm, as mentioned in the preceeding pages.

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[1]These two volumes were burnt with our other books when our house was destroyed by fire, Nov. 20, 1863 (D. A. D.).

1860

On the 18 January 1859, I was appointed by Chancellor Seth J. W. Lucky, with whom I had gone to Greeneville College, and boarded with him at his aunt's (Mrs. Balch's) to the place of Clerk & Master of the Chancery Court of Knoxville, Saml. A White having resigned.

I took David to Nashville January 11, 1860 (Inslee and Dr. Goetz went with me.) I attach opposite an article written by our son David after his return from Nicaragua; as published in the *Atlantic Monthly Magazine,* of Dec. 1859, and January 1860. The publishers gave him $165.00 for it. (The article referred to is called "The Experience of Samuel Absolom, Filibuster").

David died on Sunday evening at 3½ P. M. December 2nd, 1860, in the Hospital for the Insane near Nashville T. where he had been nearly one year.

1861

Our great nation is in a state of civil war; brought on us by the legitimate workings of Democracy. We had abandoned years ago, the purposes of our Fathers, who had given us a Constitution for a National Representative Republic.

It worked a while as a Representative Government; but Demogogues have made it, as far as they could, a "Democracy," almost all elections given direct to the people, even those of judges in the States or most of them. The reverence for law and order thus, in the minds of the people, diminished; offices [officers] once intended to serve the peoples interest, now made bribes and gifts to political partizans; and *"State rights",* an original democratic doctrine, has culminated into *"secession",* resulting consequently in Civil War.

I did not propose now to comment on the evil of the times but only to place here the stamps first used by the General Government for postage. They are expected to go out of use; for the reason that many Secession Postmasters have retained what they had on hand to be used hereafter in paying postage to places not in the Southern Confederacy; and the general government, to defeat that purpose, propose soon to issue other and different forms of stamps.

Feb. 18, 1862. Two of our sons, Robert and Inslee, are in the army of the Confederacy. Both have been stationed at Cumberland Gap and more recently Inslee at Cumerland Ford in Kentucky. They are both in a company of horse commanded by Captain Plumlee[2] of Knoxville. Robert entered the Army June 25, 1861; Inslee, July 20th, 1861 (not 18); Oakley left home for Genl. Pegram's Camp at Clinton, Tenn., May 6, 1863 (not yet 18). Oakley returned sick, and Chalmers (15 years old in August 1863 took his place July 19, 1863. Chalmers returned from Kentucky July 30/63 with Inslee, having been cut off from their comd. by the enemy, near Loudon Ky.

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[2]Afterward by Capt. Jackson, then by Capt. Langford. Oakley is now (July 20, 1863) in Capt. Langford's company. (D. A. D.).

In November 1862, Robert and Inslee went with Genl. Kirby Smith to Kentucky but were in neither the battle of Richmond nor of Perryville. Robert has now the place of Assistant Commissary, (Majr. Gillespie Principal) and ranks as Captain. Inslee is still in the ranks. He has been offered promotion but prefers his present place. Colo. Ashby was the Colo. of their Cavalry and Capt. Langford of their Company. And they were with the Cavalry force that covered Bragg's retreat from Kentucky.

Since then Robert has gone to Vicksburg, Miss., where he is now, having left Murfreesboro before the battle in the last days of December, 1862. Inslee was at Murfreesboro battle. [Omitted are accounts by Robert and Inslee of the Battle of Fishing Creek].

1862

The war has been more than a year in progress. Many battles have been fought. Many thousands have been killed in battle. More, perhaps, on the side of our enemies than ours; and doubtless more have died from disease; for one of the peculiar features of the war is, the vast number who are sick. Another strange feature of this unnatural war is, the want of *reliable* statements of the killed and wounded on either side. "A lying spirit is abroad in the land on all matters" connected with the operations of the armies.

God is doubtless punishing the whole people North and South for their sins. The nation had forgotten God, had magnified itself against him. Had prospered as never nation prospered before, and had never, in thankfulness, looked to the great source of all their blessings. Had deserted God's sabbaths, and in many ways repudiated his authority. And he has permitted the vile passions of men to rule them, and a cause of quarrel which could have been, and should have been adjusted peaceably, has brought on the terrible civil war.

The North are the aggressors, in having for years intermeddled with the subject of slavery, which very remotely *concerned them,* but vitally affected the South. On the other hand, the South, instead of submitting for four years to the rule of an administration hostile, it is true, to their institutions, and wholly sectional, precipitated war upon us by the first hostile attack.

The evil of such a result of the Presidential election was great, very great; but it was done constitutionally, and in four years, the power of the party in the ascendant, by divisions among themselves, and other causes, may have been so weakened as to become impotent for evil.

The "negro question" may have ceased to be the absorbing question, and [the people of] the South be made secure against further agitation to their injury, of this fruitful cause of all their trouble.

Surely it would have been wiser to have forborne, and to have taken other measures (for the peaceful measures were not yet exhausted), rather than by violence, to have brought this terrible civil war upon us.

Mr. Lincoln, as I think, should, when he came into office, and found that the rebellion had been permitted by his predecessor to proceed so far as to

have become a revolution, have recommended to congress, that the 7 states then seceeded, should be permitted to go. This would have been a great blow to [a] government constituted as ours. But there was a choice of two great evils, the breaking up of the government or civil war; and such a civil war, as is now waged. Certainly the least of the two evils was, to have allowed the seceded States to separate from the Union.

It will have to be done when this war is closed; for I have no idea that the South can be conquered. And if she could, how does it comport with republican government, a government of consent, that one portion [should be] in a military subjection to the other.

What an absurdity there is in the idea of such a government being a republic. And yet this is the only way in which there can now be a restoration of the Union. The North must know, after what has passed, that there can be no other way of reconstruction. And it seems to me wonderful, that they persist in the effort to restore such a union as this. A union of force. How or when the terrible scene is to close, we know not. May God in mercy soon determine it, for we would look to him. June 12, 1862.

Below is Inslee's account of the capture of 250 prisoners by their company of 25 men, and another (a Georgia) company of about the same number, at Murfreesboro, Dec. 31, 1862:

During the battle at Murfreesboro our company (Capt. Langford's) was detached from the Regt. (Col. Ashby's 1st Tenn.) and acted as body-guard or escort to Gen. Pegram, then commanding our Brigade.

Our duty was to stay with the Gen. at all times and serve as couriers. Gen. Pegram was assigned to the command of the extreme right of our army. He had command of two Regts. (The other two Regts. of our Brigade were detached.)

Some scouts brought report to the Gen. that there was a long wagon train moving rather on our right and front toward the center of the enemy. The Gen. told Lieut. Randolph, a member of his staff, to take our Co. and see if the report was true. We went in the direction indicated by the scouts and saw a long train of white-covered wagons. We went to within a short distance of them and captured 15 or 16 prisoners, including 2 negroes, and several horses. We went back and reported to the Gen. He took our Co., and a Co. of Col. Scots, and a mountain howitzer, and attacked them. He first threw a shell or two into them which broke their line and then charged them. We charged up a lane, the Gen. in front, our Co. following, and the other Co. behind us. The line which we charged was composed of the wagon guard about 300 in all. When they saw us coming they threw down their arms and ran and by the time we got to them they were scattered all over a 10 acre field. We all scattered about and commenced driving them back like a herd of cattle. They were very much frightened, held up their hands, hat or handkerchiefs, and made every demonstration to let us know that they had surrendered. Some cried out that they were Kentuckians, as if that would give them a claim to our mercy. We did not shoot any of them, as they seemed to expect. By this time the enemy had got a battery in a position that commanded us and threw the shell in very thick. Our prisoners seemed more afraid of the shell than our men, although we were on horses and they on foot. Whenever a shell came near them they threw themselves flat on the ground and were very hard to move. We succeeded however in getting 250 of them safe in the rear of our army, including a Lieut. Col., a chaplain and several surgeons. We also brought away 6 wagons, mostly laden with the soldiers' baggage; and an ambulance. Our boys got some new pistols and got swords from the officers, and all kinds of clothing. They also got some canteens filled with whiskey and others with coffee. The prisoners were very low-spirited, they saw their army was cut all to pieces, and some thought their cause hopeless.

Our Co. numbered about 25 men, the other Co. probably numbered a few more than that.

INSLEE DEADERICK.

Feb. 3rd, 1863.

At this battle of Murfreesboro, my brother James's son, Wallace, had his right arm broken, above the elbow. He was 1st Lieut. in his company. James has had in the Confederate army, first and last, six sons, viz. Arthur, Lieutenant; Shelby, killed at battle of Chickamauga; James, Capt. and, at the close of the war, Lieut. Colo.; Franklin; Wallace, Lieutenant; and Alfred.

1863

On the 1st Sept. the Federals took possession of Knoxville. All that have arrived yet are cavalry. 1500 or 2 [000] to 3000 it may be in number.

The matter of nearest concern to us is that our two sons, Robert and Inslee were at home. Inslee was in town and had, on the first alarm, rode up Prince Street toward home, and seeing the Federals coming, turned down Clinch Street, between Jno. Crozier's and Doct. Wm. Baker's lots. He saw directly, however, a party of them passing along Water Street; and thus he was between them and could not escape. He stopt in the Street (State Street) that leads between the 1st Presbyterian church and Mr. Sam B. Boyd's, left his horse and jumped over the fence into the grave-yard of the church. It is very densely covered with undergrowth and he hid there. This was about 4 o'clock, P. M. He intended remaining till night and then escaping. A man, who is known, ascertained that he was in the grave yard. Inslee fell asleep and did not wake till about midnight. In the mean time the Federals had placed a guard around the graveyard and the dogs of the informer were put in, and Inslee was found asleep and captured.

Robert was at home, and when the lines of the Federals were passing along, for they were in full view from our house, he took his horse and went back of our house through the fields to the woods, intending to pass the road along which the enemy were approaching, when it was open or free from them and thus make his way to the south. We have heard nothing from him since.
Sept. 3, 1863.

Later, we heard of Robert's safe arrival at the lines of the southern army. Inslee was allowed by Gen. Carter,[3] to remain at home till the prisoners are sent off, or till he calls for him. (He is at home yet. Oct. 10, 1863.)
Nov. 2nd. Yesterday Inslee was called for, and sent as a prisoner North, to Camp Chase, near Columbus, Ohio.

Today we have information that Oakley is also a prisoner, taken with Robert Walker, on the 7th Sept. and is now at Camp Moreton, Indianapolis, Indiana. We do not learn where he was when taken. Somewhere south of us we suppose, between Loudon and Chattanooga. We have since a letter from Oakley saying, he was captured near Shelbyville, Tenn. He says he had had a letter from Inslee from Camp Chase, Ohio.

[3]Gen. Samuel P. Carter, of Carter county, grandson of Landon Carter. He was the only man ever to reach the two ranks of general in the army and rear-admiral in the navy of the United States (S. C. W.).

Siege of Knoxville by the Confederates[4]

Chiefly what was witnessed and experienced by our own family.
Tuesday November 17, 1863.

On Sunday last there was fighting on the south side of the river, some two miles from town; result not certainly known, but many reported killed on both sides. It is understood that the Confederates subsequently went down the river and crossed, and joined their other forces on the north side of the river. The Confederate forces are commanded, we hear, by Genl. Longstreet.

From about half past 10 A. M. there was considerable picket firing west of town apparently near the Armstrong's, 2 miles or less from town. Sometimes the firing was heavy, and indicated sharp engagement. The night was quiet except an occasional shot.
Wednesday Nov. 18th

The Confederate skirmishers were advancing from the west, and those of the Federals took positions, some near Dr. C. W. Crozier's house, and others along our fence, now located between our buildings and the orchard; and not more, at the nearest part, than 50 or 60 yards from our house. They fired at each other all day. The rear line of Federal skirmishers in the latter part of the day were around our premises, and in Mrs. Coffin's orchard. The firing ceased at dark.
Thursday, Nov. 19th

Very heavy fog this morning and the firing did not commence till about 10 o'clock.

Our family were all yet occupying the house, though minnie balls struck about it occasionally; yet we supposed we could continue to occupy it; and even should shells or cannon shot be thrown at it, as might be the case, should the confederates get possession of it, we supposed we should be safe in the cellar and intended to remain.

A Federal soldier was killed today near Dr. Crozier's house; and another wounded on the hill west of the spring house just outside of our fence, near a cedar bush. It may have been a mortal wound, as he was struck in the head or neck.

The front line of Federal pickets or skirmishers extended today from our yard, and from behind our smoke house etc. and 4 or 5 from the garret window. An officer had informed us that a regiment would soon pass and form in our garden; and we were advised to leave the house. No regiment however came, except the skirmishers above mentioned as falling back. All did leave the house, for Frank Scott's opposite to the Asylum, except Crozier and myself. We remained with a hope of protecting the property still in the house,

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[4]This description of the battle and siege is valuable historical material, supplementing other accounts, few of which give such intimate details. The C. M. McClung Collection should gather all printed and MS. materials possible. A few of the many lesser known items are: Bartell, "Knoxville's Memorable Night," *Journal* of Mil. Serv. Institute, XLVIII, 259-263 (Mar. 1911); E. P. Alexander, "Longstreet at Knoxville," *ibid.*, 264-267; Anon. *Story of a Boy Company,* (Richmond, 1885), 154-168 (S. C. W.).

and thinking that we might be able to stay in the house till a decision of the contest. Crozier afterward insisted that I should come to F. Scott's to relieve his mother of her anxiety and leave him there. This I finally did.

Afterward the soldiers so deported themselves, as to induce Crozier to believe that they would depredate on the property, and he came to town with the purpose of trying to get something out of the house leaving John McCampbell, a paralletic [paralytic] man, who with his three sisters had come to our house as safer than their own.

We now procured an ambulance from the authorities, through the kindness of Gen. Sam P. Carter and a permit to return with a wagon to our house. Mrs. Deaderick, two servant women (Maria and Elvira), Crozier and myself went out to the house. It was after dark before we reached the house, attended by a Federal officer. We brought away a wagon load of our effects and some in the ambulance. All returned (with Jno. McCampbell) to Frank Scott's except myself. I remained all night. It was still during the night.

Friday Nov. 20th

Firing of skirmishers commenced today at an early hour, and the balls struck the house and around it from the northern direction; rifle pits having been advanced in that direction nearer to the house. When I was in the back porch 5 or 6 balls struck the house & locust tree near the smokehouse within a few minutes. From the *beseiged* condition of the house and other causes, I concluded to go to town, taking with me what I could carry.

During the day the fire continued, and in the afternoon we concluded to try to get something more from our house. We procured a permit and a Government wagon and borrowed another wagon; and Mrs. D., Crozier and Chalmers started out, while I was prevented from going by a report that my Clerk's office was occupied, and my books and papers should be looked to.

The firing in the direction of our house was still going on, and the wagons stayed behind the steam mill, and Crozier went to the house to see where the creek could be best crossed, so as to approach the house with least danger from the firing of the skirmishers, and to let the officer know he was coming.

While waiting at the mill, a shelling commenced from Confederate batteries in a North or Northeast direction from our house and Mrs. D. became alarmed, but not as much as the drivers of the two wagons, who turned and drove rapidly back to town.

Crozier, in the meantime, came down to where the wagons had been, but found that they had left. He immediately returned to the house, to secure some valuables of his own; and now learned from the officer at the house, that he had been ordered to burn the house, which he would do immediately.

Crozier ascertained that much of our property had already been taken out of the house, but had no time to go upstairs as the officer hurried him to get off what he wished to take. Before Crozier left the premises, the fire had been put into the ell or wooden part of the building upstairs over the "old kitchen," and the soldiers had left. Crozier thinks he was the last to leave the place.

The barn was also fired, and all we had, except the one load (and that a small one) and what we had in the ambulance as before mentioned, and the little I had carried when I left the house, was either stolen or consumed in the fire. The night was quiet. We slept at F. Scott's.

Saturday Nov. 21.

It rained a good part of last night, and pretty steadily this morning, and till the afternoon; and there was but occasional firing during the day by skirmishers, apparently in the direction of Dr. Crozier's house. Great numbers of wagons and a good many troops are within the trenches of the Federals.

The wagons occupy the vacant spaces and lots in town, and many of the troops are in the streets with tents in the yards, and under coverings stretched along the sidewalks, leaned against the fences.

The first and second Presbyterian churches, as also the Methodist and Baptist churches, the Court House, College buildings, Female Academy, Lamar and Mansion Houses, etc., as well as the D & D [Deaf and Dumb] asylum are occupied as Hospitals.

Sunday, Nov. 22.

A bright sunny morning. The skirmish firing is in the direction of East Knoxville, with occasional firing in the old direction.

About sun-down several exchanges of cannon shot occurred, between the battery (apparently of 2 guns) on the ridge back of our house (Confederate) and the "Summit hill" battery of the Federals.

Not long afterward shots were exchanged between the same Confederate battery and that of the Federals on the high hill beyond and overlooking East Knoxville. The night was quiet, the moon shining brightly.

Monday Nov. 23.

Skirmish firing heard this morning in the direction of our house and in the fore-part of the day but otherwise apparently quiet The firing of cannon was heard about 1 O'clock P.M., but we could not determine by which side or from what point, as it was more distant than the firing heard yesterday. In the afternoon the firing of the skirmishers was quite brisk in the old quarter.

Toward sun-down brisk firing was heard from about Dr. Crozier's house, and the woods adjoining, and we supposed that the Federal skirmishers who held the house and the buildings adjacent, fell back; for soon the flames were seen in the buildings about the Rail Road round house, and the Round House, the Miss McCampbell's house, (formerly the Rev. M. Hillman's) Dr. Crozier's house, and several buildings in that vicinity were in flames. In a little while after we saw, beyond the Asylum, the glare of burning buildings, apparently about the steam mill. During the progress of this burning, incessant discharges were heard, which we suppose proceeded from Maxwell's machine shop, which had been used by the Confederates as an ordinance shop and depot, and to have been the firing of cartridges and bursting shells, and perhaps the discharge of mustketry stored in the building; all of which may have been left there, when the Confederates evacuated the place.

I went to the top of Asylum hill this morning to see what buildings had been burnt, but was not allowed to go high enough to see. The night of this day passed off quietly.

Tuesday Nov. 24.

At 7 or 8 O'clock A.M. a brisk firing of skirmishers was heard, seemingly about north of the E. Ten. & Ga. R. Road depot; also west of us, in the direction of the round house. Several cannon shot were fired from the hill west of Mrs. Barnes' ("Loudon" Colo. Ramsey's) and throughout the day firing was kept up, both in that direction, and North of the Asylum or Northwest in the vicinity of our house.

Rifle pits of the Confederates have been sunk back of our house, in a N. W. direction from it, on the rise in our old field and perhaps in Mrs. Coffin's orchard. We hear today, that a charge was made by the Federals somewhere N. or N. W. of the steam mill, by which the Confederate skirmishers were driven back with the loss of several prisoners. The Federal loss, killed and wounded, we hear was considerable. The night was very quiet.

Wednesday Nov. 25th.

This morning scattering shots were heard in the direction of Dr. Crozier's house. The Federal skirmishers still hold the house or its ruins, and I suppose, ours also. The firing at intervals continued, and at about 2 O'clock P. M. cannon were heard. We could see the smoke followed by reports of cannon, from Frank Scott's back porch, a little East of South on the Ridge over the river. From what we hear it is probable that a fight is going on across the river. The skirmish firing as usual ceased when darkness came on.

Thursday Nov. 26th.

Between 7 and 8 A.M. picket firing commenced. I had a view this morning from the "Summit House" (Ristine's) and noticed that the machine shop, foundry, Humphrey's House, and all or nearly all the buildings N. of the E. T. & Va. R. Road round house, on the east side of Broad Street, have been burnt. The steam mill is standing, also the White house near it (Driscole's), as also the line of houses on the left or west side of Broad Street going to the cemetery.

Some cannon shot were heard, apparently from the south side of the College, supposed to have been fired at a battery of the Confederates, on the hill over the river. The skirmish firing continued till night. A quiet night.

Friday Nov. 27th.

Today passed off very much as yesterday. Less firing, however, both of cannon and small arms. Three or four cannon shot were fired from a battery of the Federals, directly in front of the college, at, as we supposed, the Confederate Battery on the Ridge back of our house. The night was quiet except that a shot was heard occasionally.

Saturday Nov. 28th.

Firing of both cannon and musketry was heard about 4 O'clock A. M. Could not ascertain from what quarter it proceeded. The firing of skirmishers

was heard all day, and at times quite brisk. A little time before sundown, several discharges of cannon were heard, chiefly from the Federal battery on the hill above, and beyond Miss Marg't White's, supposed to be aimed at the Confederate battery on the bluff on the south bank of the river.

Sunday, Nov. 29th.

Last night was comparatively quiet, till about half past ten, when a brisk fire of musketry was heard in the direction of the college, and very heavy cannonading continued till after sun-rise.

It is understood that an attempt was made by the Confederates to take the battery or fort on the hill, back of Miss Marg't White's (Fort Sanders). The attempt failed, with the loss, it is said, of about 200 prisoners, with many killed and wounded on both sides. Part of the prisoners, about 100, passed by us, in front of the Asylum, this morning. All the batteries around us, South and West, seemed to have been engaged in the firing.

The batteries engaged extend from the one placed on the west slope of the ridge, across the river, above Churchwell's (the lower) ferry, around to "Summit Hill" (Ristine's).

The Confederate batteries, four in number, are placed as nearly as we can ascertain—one on the bluff across the river, south of the College; one near Armstrong's; one west of John Moses'; and one on the ridge N.W. of our house.

Skirmish firing entirely ceased, from about 10 O'clock A.M. under a flag of truce to bury the dead. The skirmishers of the two parties were seen from the window upstairs to meet near Dr. Crozier's house, in a friendly manner; and since, the men on either side are walking about exposed, and no firing heard.

The fighting last night was more serious than we had supposed. We hear that the Confederate loss was very considerable, they having been the attacking party and much inferior to the Federals in number. Notwithstanding Fort Sanders was actually entered by them, but not having been properly supported, they were obliged to surrender. These, or a part of them, were the prisoners we saw passing along by the Asylum. There was no firing at night, and all was perfectly quiet.

Monday Nov. 30th.

Skirmish firing commenced after 10 O'clock A. M. and was kept up at intervals, through the day. A few cannon shot were also heard. The night was quiet.

Tuesday December 1st.

Skirmish firing began early and continued all day. Night quiet.

Wednesday Dec. 2nd.

The firing commenced early, and continued through the day. In the afternoon considerable firing of cannon was heard. And after dark repeated shots from Fort Sanders were heard. No reply was made by the Confederate batteries. As late as 10 O'clock cannonading was heard.

Thursday Dec. 3rd.

Firing of cannon at 4 O'clock A. M. pretty brisk, and throughout the day, with picket firing till dusk, not as briskly as yesterday. A minnie ball struck the house today and one yesterday. Three have struck Mrs. P. M. McClung's, the second house west of us; and several have struck in other places in our immediate vicinity. It is safest to keep within doors, but we have become so accustomed to the flying balls, that we don't observe this precaution. The night was quiet except some picket firing about 12 o'clock.

Friday Dec. 4th.

Less picket firing this morning than usual; though it continued all day. Toward evening there seemed to be a stir among the troops in and about town, as if they apprehended an attack, and considerable firing of Federal cannon was heard from different batteries around town but nothing occurred; and with the close of the day quiet was restored. The night was perfectly still.

Saturday Dec. 5th.

There was no firing this morning, and it soon appeared that the Confederates had left their rifle pits, and that they had raised the seige and gone with their forces. We then went to our house, no one stopping us, to see if there was anything we could save. We got one wagon load chiefly of *irons,* and dug our parsnips and salsify. We found rifle pits dug close to the house. I counted 13 Confederate pits, with short intervals between them, from the house, in a line North, to the division fence between us and Mrs. Coffin, and some 100 yards beyond. They extend also from the S. west corner of the house, two or three hundred yards in the direction of the round house of the E. Tenn. & Ga. Rail Road.

These were the last pits occupied by the Confederates. On the line of our back garden fence, three rifle pits were dug and had been used by the Federals, between Crozier's house and the barn yard fence; and one at the gate where the garden fence joins the barn yard fence. I counted a day or two after our first visit to the house 44 rifle pits which had been dug on our grounds, accomodating from one to 4 men each, as indicated by each man's *fire place*— all by the Confederates except 6. A great many minnie balls had struck the west end of our house; we counted 37 or 38 marks of the balls on the bricks of that end alone.

Dec. 30th, 1863. In reading the history of the American Revolution, I do not remember to have noticed that the right of private property, and the personal liberty of citizens were habitually interfered with as they have been during the present contest.

While the Confederates had possession here, that is from the beginning of the war till Sept. 1st 1863, when the Federals came in, many acts of lawless violence had been committed by them, both on persons and property. Citizens were arrested, in many cases, Union men, so called, at the instance of a personal enemy or on some frivolous charge and put in prison. The county jail was used, and the house at the N. E. corner of Main and Prince St. near the Court House. In many cases the prisoners were left ignorant of the charges

made against them. Some have laid in jail for weeks or months, who were finally discharged, nothing having been established against them. No redress could be had by the sufferer in such cases of outrage. The property of citizens, both union and secession, has been taken from them by authority of the military, and doubtless without authority often. Some of it has been paid for at their own prices, but in numerous instances no payment has been made. The plea of military necessity must satisfy the sufferer. Seizures of private property have been more extended under the Federal rule.

A leading doctrine under which they justify their enormities is, that a rebel can claim no property as his own; it has been forfeited by his disloyalty. Hence they take whatever they please from those whom they call disloyal, though no proof is made, as ought to be made, that they are so. The authorized robbers, for surely it is robbery, give sometimes a receipt for what they thus forcibly take, at their own measure and price, promising to pay, when the loyalty of the sufferer is established. They pay loyal men, or promise to do so.

They have taken possession of buildings both public and private, by force and use them, and the property found in them, for their own purposes, without compensation to the owners.

My son, Crozier, and my two sons-in-law, Frank A. Scott and C. W. Park, own a mill in Knoxville, on First or White's Creek. The Federal military authorities have taken it from them, put their own men in it, and run it for their own benefit, and have taken all the flour and wheat they had of their own and of their customers, also several boxes of tobacco, without paying them a cent; and, without encouraging the expectation of their ever being paid for their property or rent for their mill, unless they will *prove* their loyalty. Now, it would seem, that to give pretence to such an outrage, the *authorities* should make *proof* of disloyalty against them. The steam mill, owned by a Company, has been taken in the same way.

Such proceedings seem very enormous to one who has for more than 60 years lived under a government of justice and equity; and which has, by its laws, given protection to his *person* and property, while he did *no act* to compromise his right to claim this protection. There seems however to have been wrought a strange and radical change on the morals of men and on their views of what is right. Wars we know are demoralizing to their influence.

But I have never had my attention so arrested before, by anything I have seen or read, to the so frequent occurrence of cases, exhibiting a total disregard of the obligations of common honesty, as developed by the parties of this war, [by] Confederates, but more the Federals. The last named are particularly cool, heartless and relentless in their robberies. They take what is yours, even some of those who claim to be gentlemen, with an indifference and callousness as to your rights, resulting, it may be, from long and active practice, but exhibiting a total want of moral principle. With this evil example before them, many of our own people have not escaped its infection, and have taken what they found of property that did not belong to them. There has been vast destruction of buildings and timber around Knoxville; the buildings burnt and trees cut down as a *"military necessity"*. Especially was this

the case during the seige in Nov. and Dec. Since the seige, where dwellings had been burnt and out buildings left, they had been pulled down and burnt or hauled to town, citizens participating in the thefts. Our own spring house and privy, the only buildings left unburnt, have been pulled to pieces and the material taken away.

1865

Oakley reached home (having been paroled with Gen. Johnston's army) May 15, 1865. Robert and Inslee not returned yet.

Numbers of the rebel soldiers returned home at the close of the war, expecting to remain unmolested. Some were mal-treated, especially those who had, while the rebels had control here, made themselves busy and forward as rebels; but the mass of them were unmolested.

The disposition, however, of the Union men to take revenge and gratify their malice soon manifested itself in acts of violence and many outrages were perpetrated, by the lower grade of Union men upon the rebels. Many murders were committed in different parts of E. Tennessee.

And here at Knoxville, they have been very rabid. One case of enormity deserves to be mentioned.

William Hall, son of M. L. Hall, Clerk of the Federal Court here, attacked a return rebel soldier, Abner Baker. I don't know if there was any provocation other than that Baker was a *rebel.* I have heard of no other. It occurred in the Court House, where I have my office of Clerk and Master. Robert Armstrong of this vicinity related to me the circumstances a few minutes after it occurred. He said he did not know what had occurred to provoke Hall; but in the lower court room or near the door, he came upon them when Hall (who was a large man over the common size) was striking Baker, who was under the usual size, with a stick and the latter was giving back. Armstrong called to them to quit but before he got to them, Baker drew his pistol and fired. The shot took effect in Hall's head and he died soon after. Baker was taken to jail, and that night, about 8 or 9 o'clock, a body of Tene. soldiers (East Tennesseans) whose camp was across the river, took him from the jail and hung him on a tree outside of the jail enclosure.

Now for this outrageous act, perpetrated on a youth who was, from Armstrong's account, and from all I can learn, acting strictly in self-defense, nothing has been done to arrest the murderers, or even to inquire into the circumstances, either by the civil authority, or by the military, who still have a general (Maj. Gen. Stoneman) in command here.

In consequence of this lawless act, and of threats of further violence, all the returned rebel soldiers and some others *have gone South.* Our own sons, Oakley and Chalmers have gone to Macon, Georgia where my son-in-law Charles McClung has employment.

The state of the country here is deplorable. A number of our best citizens are seeking other homes and even conservative union men think of leaving. Still, *orders* are given, by these self-constituted patriots, to rebels to leave.

And in Blount County, even the rebel women are ordered off and many are gone.

I hope the worst is past; but at this date, much uncertainty and apprehension exists in the public mind. These are not the acts of the best of the union men, but of low and irresponsible men generally. And there seems to be a fear or apprehension on the part of those who might arrest the evil, lest some evil may came upon them, if they attempt anything. [Omitted is a letter to Charles McClung written by Inslee while in Fort Delaware Prison].

1866

Robert returned the 14th May of this year. And Inslee on the 20th, both from Austin, Texas, where Robert had been all winter and where Inslee had gone from Lamar County, Texas after a long interval; during which we knew not what had become of him.

Several of the young men who had been in the Confederate Army from Knoxville, have returned and are not molested. And the expectation at present is that they will not be.

August 20th. I made a visit to Jonesboro, my native place, to my brother Franklin and family. The war has had a most disastrous effect upon the town and country. Many of its best citizens have been driven out, or have thought it prudent to leave, rebels so called.

Jonesboro, the oldest town in the state, held a most respectible population when I was young. There is great deterioration now. Among others driven out, has been my brother James, always a very moderate Southern man; but obnoxious to certain low men on acount of his extensive practice as a lawyer, his success (a rebel) was too much for their *patriotism* to brook. He lives at present in Bristol E. Tene. *(afterward [in] Knoxville)*

I saw on this visit for the first time the carving in a beech tree done by Daniel Boon 106 years ago, mentioned by Dr. Ramsey in his *History of Tennessee,* page 67. It is yet quite distinct, and there is no good reason to doubt its being done by himself at the date given. He hunted on Boon's creek, we know; for the creek takes its name from him; and his permanent camp was not very many miles from this tree, on the said creek. The tree is about 8 miles N. East from Jonesboro near Samuel E. Edward's present residence, just beyond Bashet's old mill on the old road to Blountville from Jonesboro, about 300 yds to the right of said road, and perhaps 150 yards south of Little Sinking Creek, on which Mr. Edwards lives. The carving is on a leaning beech tree, leaning towards the west, less, I should think, than two feet in diameter. It is on the S. East side of the tree, and is as follows:

D. BOON
Cilled a Bar on this tree
in the year 1760.

Oct. 20. Robert left us to reside in Memphis. Inslee and Oakley are now at home, and Chalmers is at college in Lexington, Virginia, this 24th day of November 1866.

Inslee had also gone to Lexington to college; but his eyes failed, and he came home. The weakness of his eyes is occasioned by his having read at night a great deal, while in prison at Fort Delaware.

We had been living during the summer at our son Crozier's farm, 3 miles from town, near Scott's mill; but are now in our new house, at the old site at Fruit Hill, where we came to live, Monday Nov. 12, 1866.

1867

Robert has returned from Memphis and is now Cashier of the Knoxville Bank, J. S. VanGilder owner and President. Inslee is studying law with his uncle James Deaderick, now residing here, and Oakley and Chalmers are now here also—the latter just from Lexington, to return the next session. Mr. McClung and Alice returned from Macon and are now living with us.

1868

Among many other great evils which have the war as the originator, is the condition of our judiciary. Men are on the bench now, not merely without talent, but destitute totally of principle. In very many instances, the most shameful departure from justice has characterized the findings of the juries, where a *Rebel,* so called, has been in their power. It is getting something better. "Damage suits" as they are called, have been brought by *Loyal* men against Rebels who had property, in many instances where the person sued was entirely innocent of the offence charged. The damage suits generally are brought on the plea of the plaintiff having his property taken from him by rebels. Not that the man sued took it, but that the rebels took it, and the defendant sympathized with the rebels, or was identified with their cause. Sometimes they have been brought by the representatives of a man who was imprisoned by the rebels. The defendant having nothing to do with, or perhaps not knowing at the time of such imprisonment. Colo. Sneed, a practicing lawyer here, has been sued by Brownlow, the governor of this state, by a pretended election, & by Richens (?), for some 20 or 25 thousand dollars, for imprisoning them, when Sneed was not here at the time and had nothing to do with it. And John H. Crozier, my wife's brother, sued also by the same parties, for a large sum, who had no more agency for the imprisonment than I had. But all their property each of them had here was taken from them by the judgment of a corrupt court, and actually sold, for the pretended claim of the Plaintiffs. Sneed through the U. States Court got his into possession some time ago; but Colo. Crozier only recovered his within a few days. The plaintiffs had become the purchasers, and for a time received the rents. Mr. Crozier loses his rents collected by Brownlow in the compromise he made; and has all the time to pay the taxes, now very heavy in this state.

Our domestic relations are not changed materially. Our children are all here at present. Taking them according to age: Crozier yet lives on his farm 3 miles North of Knoxville, Margarette Scott lives in Knoxville, opposite the D. & D. Asylum; Robert is still Cashier of the Knoxville Bank; Ann Park lives on Cumberland Street, Knoxville. Alice McClung still lives with

us at our old place; Inslee, Oakley and Chalmers are with us. Inslee is my regular deputy in the Clerk & Masters office. Oakley attends to matters about home, and Chalmers has his vacation from Washington College, Va., to which we expect him to return when next session commences. None of our sons are [is] married.

1869 AND 1870

I visited my brother Franklin in June of this year (1869) at his residence "The Cottage" 3½ miles East of Jonesboro.

Knoxville, May 17, 1870. By the new state constitution, my second term of office, as Clerk & Master of the Chancery Court at Knoxville expired in Sept. 1870. Our chancellor O. P. Temple is a *radical;* and I was, on the 3rd of Octo. superseded by the appointment of one of his own party. There was no pretence of any other reason given for the change. That I am now near 74 years old would have been a better and more sensible reason; but I have not heard that it was made an objection to my reappointment.

I again visited my brother Franklin at the cottage near Jonesboro, and spent the Christmas week 1870 there.

He is now clerk of the Supreme Court here; but has not yet removed his family to Knoxville.

Brother James has been elected one of the Supreme Judges of Tennessee, and is now on the bench at Nashville. He will probably return to Jonesboro to live, having broken up house keeping here.

[Omitted (under the date, 1871) are brief notes of David A. Deaderick's travels in England and Scotland, and a long account of his trip to California in 1849-50].

1872

In october of this year we had bought a farm of 324 acres, on the south side of French Broad river, about one mile from the river, and 8 mile above Knoxville, on which Robert and Oakley will live, and Inslee perhaps a part of the year with them. Inslee and Robert have gone up today with wagon and horses and some agricultural implements to take possession.

[The journalist died the year following, 1873.—Editor.]

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited *By*

D. C. Corbitt *and* Roberta Corbitt

At the end of the American Revolution Spain hoped to hold the west bank of the Mississippi south of the Ohio and, although the treaty between England and the revolted colonies gave that territory to the latter, Spain tried to keep it in her possession. The papers in this collection cover the period from the close of the Revolution to the end of the century, during which time Spain tried to make good her claims[1] by keeping a barrier of Indians in front of the advancing Americans. In her efforts she made use of the English firm of Panton, Leslie and Company to keep the Indians from becoming dependent on American trade. At one time the dissatisfaction of the Tennessee and Kentucky settlers with their nominal rulers across the mountains raised the hope in Spanish breasts of extending the Spanish domains to the Ohio and the Alleghenies. It is difficult to resist the temptation to write at length about a number of the interesting characters that go fighting, trading, intriguing and scalping through these papers. A more romantic group to deal with—on paper—one would have to travel far to find. With the two volumes of Professor Whitaker[2] covering this field, however, a lengthy introduction is uncalled for; so a brief history of the papers themselves will be sufficient.

With few exceptions these letters are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias by Professor Whitaker for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library at Knoxville. In 1819 the archives of Louisiana

[1]A statement of the Spanish claims is found in Miró to Gálvez, March 12, 1784, printed below.

[2]A. P. Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-95* (Boston, 1927), and *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York, 1934). Other helpful works are: Whitaker, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (Deland, 1931); C. M. Brevard, *A History of Florida* (2 vols. Deland, 1924-25); A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Sheffield, Ala., 1851); J. F. H. Claibourne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1880); Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: Spanish Domination* (New York, 1866); E. M. Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933); John Haywood, *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1891); J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1926); P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History* (New York, 1933); S. C. Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee* (Johnson City, 1930); and the biographical sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1936).

and West Florida were removed to Havana and two years later those of East Florida followed. During 1888 and 1889 eleven shipments of papers were sent from Cuba to the Archivo General de Indias at Sevilla and in these went all but eight bundles of the Louisiana and Florida papers which were probably overlooked. These eight bundles form the nucleus around which have been gathered other scattered papers to form the section denominated "Floridas" in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba.[3] A few papers from this source are printed here.[4]

In order to save space, it has been deemed advisable to omit from each letter printed the extended complimentary close. A typical example of this elaborate Spanish courtesy, taken from Miró to Gálvez, March 12, 1784, below, follows: "God Our Lord Keep Your Excellency many years. New Orleans, March 12, 1784. Most Excellent Sir I Kiss the Hands of Your Excellency your most devoted servant."

I — 1783-1785

McLatchy to [O'Neill], December 15, 1783[5]

Sir,

The letter herewith inclosed to your Excellency, from Governor Tonys,[6] may probably give you some account of our view in settling a store at this place; but if it does not, I take the liberty to inform your Excellency, that Wm. Panton, John Leslie Tho. Foster and myself have resided in East Florida ever since the commencement of the Rebellion; and kept stores on St. Johns River for supplying the Indians; but after West Florida fell under the Government of His most Catholic Majesty, and the evacuation of Georgia by the English, the Indians had no other place but our store to buy goods at; and that being at such a distance particularly from the Upper Creeks, and Cherokees, that by the time supplys got amongst them, they came so extravagantly high that the Indians was scarcely able to cloath themselves; this induced them to send their chiefs down to Petition Governor Tonys, Gen'l McArthur, and Col. Brown for a Trading House to be erected at this place, it being the nearest to the Indian Towns of any place under the British Government. Governor Tonys recommended us to the Indian Chiefs, and some of them accompanied me, and showed me a place to build Houses on; and lately a Vessel has brought from England a large assortment of Goods, which gives great satisfaction to the Indians, as the Traders can afford to sell them near one-half cheaper, than when they brought them all the way from St.

[3]Joaquin Llaverias, *Historia de los Archivos de Cuba* (Havana, 1912); Luis Marino Pérez, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives* (Washington, 1907); R. R. Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville* (Washington, D. C., 1916).

[4]Other papers from this source are being printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* beginning December, 1936.

[5]Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), legajo 196. Arturo O'Neill was governor of West Florida.

[6]Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida.

Augustine. I am informed over land that the definition [definitive] treaty is signed last September, and that this province as well as West Florida is ceded forever to Spain. As we have a very fine plantation and a large stock of cattle, we mean to remain under the Spanish Government; but with regard to our remaining as dealers with the Indians, that depends entirely on the Officers under his Most Catholic Majesty in these two provinces. Your great humanity to unfortunate loyalists gives me hopes of your Protection, which I hope we will merit, for I am certain we can be of service to both provinces; especially in keeping the Indians from [illegible] ing too much on Georgia, where they leave [illegible] not very favorable to the settlers of this province —for although the Spaniards in time may give the Indians satisfaction in trading with them—yet if they do not keep some of the Merchants and Traders that formerly traded; take my word for it, the Indians will depend entirely on Georgia for their supplies. If your Excellency, or any of your friends at Pensacoli should be in want of any English article of Goods, or Provision —a few lines from Your Excellency, if agreeable, would soon order any article round to what place you thought proper. . . .

Charles McLatchy[7]

P. S. I am told the Court of Spain has granted some priviledges to the inhabitants of the territory but as the packet was not [forwarded], I do not know whether it is true or not.

McGillivray to O'Neill, February 5, 1784[8]

Sir

At the request of a Gentleman lately from Georgia I now write to Your Excellency to Inform you that the american States Will on no Condition admit the return of the Loyalists to their estates but on such terms as men of honor cant Submit to. one of those people a Cap. Weekly hearing that Your Excellency was Inclined to encourage & Shewed great favor to good men to Settle with Families in West Florida he came to get a full Information of this matter from me. I took the liberty to mention to him what Your Excellency said to me Concerning the Loyalists. he says that if Liberty of Conscience woud be allowed to them they coud be Contented & happy under the King of Spain Government, & that if Your Excellency Woud be pleased to Write me that they Woud be Received & protected & be allowed liberty of Conscience that he will return & bring his family & a Number of others—respectable men all who once possessed ample livings & are now reduced to Very little on account of their Loyalty to their King & men who have been accustomed to Industry, well skilled in Farming raising Stock or any thing in that way, which shoud soon put that province in a Very flourishing Situation & of course become Valuable for its products & Supplys of every kind whether for the Kings Garrisons or Shipping. they Seem to prefer the lands on the Alabama as best for their purpose. their Settling there woud be no hindrance

[7]This letter shows the first move in the chain of events by which Panton, Leslie & Co. obtained a monopoly of the Indian trade in Spanish territory east of the Mississippi and extended their stores to Chickasaw Bluffs. McLatchy wrote from St. Mark's.

[8]A.G.I., P.C., 197. For McGillivray's life see A. P. Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray," *N.C. Hist. Rev.*, V (1928), 181-203, 289-309.

to them carrying their produce to Pensacola by land, as they have heard much of Your Goodness & humanity they chuse to live under your patronage & protection, & as Your Excellency has taken every measure to make Your province a Valuable one I flatter myself that these familys will be accepted of to add to the making it a well cultivated one.

I have Information given me that two men of the name of Tally & Ballard was Seen passing thro the lower Nation from Georgia to Pensacola with some Negroes. tis needful to Inform You that these men are the most noted Villians that ever was, murdering fellows & great thieves. I hope Your Excellency will cause them & negroes to be Seized. they must in all probability belong to Some unfortunate person whom they have murdered & Stolen the Negroes. they woud not Show themselves here as they knew that I woud Seize them. a number of americans are disposed to leave their own government & their Taxes to Settle at Pensacola but I hope Your Excellency will not Receive any of the rebellious Crew.

The back Inhabitants of Georgia & Carolina are in arms to oppose the Tax Collectors. the whole continent is in confusion. before long I expect to hear that the three kings must Settle the matter by dividing America between them.

The Spanish Trader that carryd Goods to the Coolamie Town do not agree with those Indians. Ninne Wakitche & he has fallen out upon which he made his Complaint to me & Says he has been illused & he will not return again to the Coolamie Town & remains at my house. Ninne Wakitche came here yesterday to excuse himself & Says the Spaniard was frightened for nothing, but I believe there has been reason for it. The Story that Ninne Wakitche tells is this that some time ago in a drunken bout a Coolamie Indian fought with a Conhulkie man & the latter Some time after died. upon which the family of the deceased according to the custom of Indians was resolved to take a woman for Satisfaction, & as Ninne Wakitches daughter was next of kin She was Seized to be killed & he to ransom his daughters life took some Goods & a Cask of powder from the Spaniard & for which he meant to pay, but doing his business without making use of the powder he returned it & Says he will pay for the goods. all which he beggd of me to acquaint Your Excellency of in Writing. the Spaniard persists in that he has been ill used, & as he Speaks no Indian nor English & I no Spanish nor French we cant understand each other well So that I cant make out the particulars of his Complaint. by desire Welch is gone to the Coolamie to look the effects there. I Shall trouble Your Excellency no further at this Time but only request the favor of an answer to the proposal of the Loyalist familys that they may prepare to move to West Florida. You may depend that they are people of good Character. . . .

Alexander McGillivray

His Excellency Gov. ONeil

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GRIMAREST, NEW ORLEANS, FEBRUARY 10, 1784[9]

My dear Sir: Fabre, the Interpreter of Mobile, having left for the Nations, and not knowing anything yet of his whereabouts, and desiring to remove at one stroke the obstacles which the Indians have raised in order not to go to Galvez-town in the month of March on account of bad roads and because they are occupied at this time in bear hunting, and in planting, we have determined to postpone the Congress, as you are aware, until the 20th or 25th of June, at which time they should come to Mobile to receive their gifts, and to arrange the prices of the goods.

To this end you will immediately send to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations a trustworthy person to carry them word so that on the said 25th of June or a little before these Nations may be in Mobile. You will inform me of their reply.

It will be advantageous to make the Indians understand that this delay and change of meeting place is only to satisfy and comply with the desires of the said Indians. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Enrique Grimarest

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GÁLVEZ, NEW ORLEANS, MARCH 12, 1784[10]

My dear Sir: There has just entered this River an American Sloop Captain Christopher Whipple coming from Rhode Island, with a Passport in which the cargo is listed, a copy of which is included. By virtue of it he says he comes to this River because it is free to the navigation of his Nation according to the definitive treaty between his nation and Great Britain which fixes its boundaries at 31 Degrees by a line drawn down the middle of this River until it reaches the said degree of latitude. As I have received no instructions upon this matter nor is there anything mentioned in our definitive treaty with Great Britain, it being known on the other hand that the Americans possess the left bank in Illinois, I have decided not to deny him entrance, warning him that if he sells to the Plantations on the River Bank his boat will be confiscated, and I have sent the circular (a copy of which I enclose) to the Planters so that they will abstain from buying, sending at the same time a sergeant, a corporal, and four men to be placed at the disposition of the Intendant who has ordered them to keep continually in sight of the said Boat, following it to prevent smuggling.

For this reason, although I doubt not Your Excellency knows as much as I can tell you, animated by Zeal for the service of His Majesty, I make known to Your Excellency that the 31st degree, according to some opinions,

[9]A.G.I., P.C., 3. Grimarest was commandant at Mobile.

[10]A.G.I., P.C., 3. Although Bernardo de Gálvez was promoted successively to the posts of captain-general of Cuba and viceroy of New Spain he continued to be captain-general of Louisiana and the Floridas until his death in 1786.

is on this River in front of Manchack and according to the most general opinion in front of the mouth of the Red River which is 18 leagues this side of the Fort at Natchez, so that at least (If the said boundary can be verified) we shall have to give up the Fort at Natchez and all its District, and by the East and West line, which, the same treaty indicates, should be drawn from the point in the middle of the River where it meets the 31st Degree, there will remain to Mobile only some ten leagues of Jurisdiction in the interior of the country, and little more to Pensacola, so that all the rich lands of Natchez and those of all the Indian Nations of the left Bank would remain in the power of the Americans.

All these difficulties seem to me the result of the boundaries of West Florida, which are held by our monarch by conquest, not being stated in our definitive treaty; but it seems evident to me that, taking into consideration the capture of Pensacola which was governed by General Campbell, we should hold both Banks of the Mississippi up to the mouth of the Ohio River, because down to that point the Americans conquered the territory in the capture of the English part of Illinois. If the objection should be raised that by West Florida is not understood more than to the mouth of the Yazoo River, which is 22 leagues by land above the Fort of Natchez, then it follows, by adopting this general opinion, that the conquest of Your Excellency reached only to this point which, it would seem, the English might cede to the Americans; but against this there is the fact that as soon as war was declared against Great Britain, Captain Baltasar de Villiers who was then commandant of Arkansas Post, crossed to the other side of the River in front of the same Post, and took possession of all that country in the name of His Majesty, as is shown in the enclosed document; and as this point lies 180 leagues from the Ohio River it follows that this possession takes away the right that the English might have to cede this Country, which as stated was no longer theirs. In addition the Chickasaw Nation which lies between the two mentioned points always depended on the General of Pensacola, and by reason of its capture it is apparent that the said Country belongs to us.

I hope that these reflections will please Your Excellency, that they will be worthy of being sent to His Majesty, and that in consequence of them I shall be advised what I ought to do in case the Americans undertake to make a settlement in some of the said territory. . . .

Estevan Miró

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

No. 108

THE GOVERNOR

Account is given by documents of the dispositions made on account of having entered the Mississippi River an American Sloop, and treats of the demarcation of the boundaries for navigation in the said River by that Nation—

McGillivray to [Miró], Little Tallassee, March 28, 1784[11]

Sir

Some time before the General Peace when there was a probability that America Woud be declared Independent & East & West Florida ceded to the Crown of Spain I applied in behalf of the Creek Nation to Governor ONeil at Pensacola & offered to put the Creek Nation under his Most Catholic Majestys Protection. as the americans Pretend that we are in their Boundary. if the Brittish Nation has been Compelled to withdraw from us. She has no right to give up a Country she never coud call her own. therefore as a free Nation we have an Undoubted right to chuse what Protection we think proper. to which I had the Satisfaction of receiving a most favorable answer from Governor ONeil who likewise acquainted me with your Intention of holding a General Congress with the Indians at Pensacola in May next when these matters woud be Settled.

Previous to the Congress I have to Inform you that about a Year ago at the desire of the Chiefs of this Country I made a proposal to Some principal Merchants in St. Augustine to Settle a Share of Goods on any part of our Country they Judged most Convenient for Supplying this Nation with goods as the Trade from Pensacola was very Scant & not sufficient for one Village. upon which [a] Store was Settled up the River St. Marks. before the Merchants woud consent & to give a Security to the Store I agreed to be concernd with them, as it is Situated in the neighbourhood of a Very Strong body of Indians. I was very lately Informed that this Store was ordered to be abandoned, a measure which if it was to be complyd with woud very Soon reduce us to great distress in the mean time Ive directed the Store to be kept up & that One of the Gentlemen a Mr. Panton shoud come up here to go with me to meet you in Congress in May that a Joint concern may be agreed on & Settled for the Securing the whole Indian Trade [illegible] Chickasaw & Choctaw, as these Gentlemen have [illegible] credit in London the Trade will be Very advantageous at the Same it will Secure to the King the attachment of a numerous & brave Nation of Indians. This affair I beg leave earnestly to Recommend to your consideration, for if this matter is not made up or Something like it, the Americans will very Shortly engross the Indian Trade & of consequence join the Indians to their Interest & who will make the worst use of their Influence. There are now three American Traders in this Nation with a Very large Supply of Goods. I cant deny them the liberty of Trade during this uncertainty of affairs, as we are not Sure that we Shall enjoy a good Trade from the Spanish Government.

It is Necessary for me to Inform you that I am a Native of this Nation & of rank in it. at the Commencement of the American Rebellion I entered into the Brittish Service & after a long contest of faithful Services we have at the close been most Shamefully deserted as well as every other people that has relied on their honor & Fidelity.

for the good of my Country I have Sacrificed my all & it is a duty incumbent on me in this critical Situation to exert myself for their Interest the

[11] A.G.I., P.C., 197. Little Tallassee was a town of the upper Creek.

protection of a great Monarch is to be prferred to that of a distracted Republic. If I am disappointed [in my expectations] I must as the last Nesessity embrace [illegible] offers however disagreeable it may be to my political opinions. I Still hope that at our meeting every matter will be agreeably Settled. . . .

Alex. McGillivray

Welch to [McCurtin], September 25, 1784[12]

Sir

Plas to Lat the berer have one kagg of Taffe a 3 gallon kagg and you will oblige your Frande I have Sante a man Doon to the Law he is a Hores theff & a morderer Mr Bornay will teel you all about him pra never lat him com back From your Frande plas Sand me one carrot of tobacker

Robert Welch

Declaration of Henry Dickens, October 19, 1784[13]

Don Henrique de Grimarest, Lieutenant colonel of the Royal Armies, Political and Military Governor of the City of Mobile and its District; in my presence as [illegible] of Government, I had the declarer appear and take the oath On the Gospels, promising to tell the Truth.—After which he was Questioned:—

Ques.—What is his name, what religion does he profess, what is his age, and from what country does he come? He replied, his name is Henry Dickens, he is Protestant, age Eighteen years; that he is American Native of Georgia; Ques.—Why is he a Prisoner; He replied for having been charged with Stealing Horses; in the Chie Nation; Ques.—as to where he was Arrested and by whom? He replied that it was in the Chie Nation by Robert Welch and was handed over to Simon Burney; who leaving the Road brought him bound to this City. Ques.—why he says that he is Charged with stealing Horses, when there is more than suspicion that he had really stolen them; to which he replied that he had committed no such Robbery: and that the Mare which he had he bought in the Cherokee Nation; which remained in the possession of Robert Welch; Ques.—if he had not stolen a valuable Horse from General Clarke,—He replied that being a Prisoner in General Clark's Camp he fled with three other Militiamen like himself; and in order to facilitate his flight took one of the General's Horses that was grazing with Other Horses, with the full knowledge that the one he took belonged to the General; and that he did not take any other Horses; because he had no bad intentions; and that the other Militiamen each took a Horse. Ques.—where he waited when he left the Camp, and what he did with the Horse mentioned? He replied that he went to St. Augustine, that there he sold the Horse to the Governor named Mr. Torrian, for Forty Pounds Sterling.—that afterward he went to the Talapuche Nation; Ques.—if the Horse that he took was

[12] *Ibid.*, 197. Indexed in photostat as addressed to "Mather?"; but see "Declaration of Simon Burney," below.

[13] *Ibid.*, 197. The General Clark mentioned appears to be George Rogers Clark.

not shut up ready to run in a Race for betting? He replied that he did not take that Horse but that it was taken by one of his companions; Reques. how it is that he says he sold the Horse to the Governor of St. Augustine; when he told Burney that he had sold it to a trader in the Talapuches? He replied that he had told Burney no such thing, and that when he sold it to the Governor Alexander McGillivray was present: Ques. if he had stolen negroes. He replied no, but that his Mother when she left the Cherokees left him one which he sold to a trader named Prechett, Ques. if he had wounded or assassinated any Person? He replied no; and that he could only have done it when he was in the Battle of Charleston, Under the orders of General Burgoin; Ques. what kind of life he had led since he left St. Augustine? He replied that he went to the Talapuches where he worked at whatever presented itself in the house of McGillivray; Ques. why he went to the Chies? He replied that his Sister and her Husband having passed by the place where he was with McGillivray he went with them to the Chies in order to go to Cumberland: He was warned not to lie about anything because McGillivray being due to come here it would be possible to prove whether or not any part of what he said were true, and that if he were convicted of perjury he would be condemned for that apart; He replied that what he had declared was the truth. Then the Governor read him the Clause of the Letter that Robert Welch had sent, in which he was accused of being a Horse thief and an assassin? to which he Replied that it was false, and that he did not know the said Welch, and that he would naturally slander him in order to keep the Mare, and he believed that he [Welch] hated him for having taken up Arms against the King of Great Britain, and the King's English Interpreter, Joseph Bescochea having read this to him he said it is what he has said and that he ratifies it and not knowing how to write made his Customary mark, the Governor and Interpreter before whom he took his oath signing; that they had Interpreted correctly and legally, Santiago Saussaye, Clerk of this City also signing on the Nineteenth Day of the Month of October of the Year Seventeen Hundred Eighty-Four:—

Enrique Grimarest

Interpreter Joseph de Bescochea

Before me

Santiago de la Saussaye

Clerk

I the aforesaid Clerk testify that the said Simon Burney being absent because he does not reside in this City; for which reason he is not confronted with the accused Prisoner, but the Interpreter Joseph Bescochea having read to him the Declaration of the said Burney, the accused Henry Dickens said he did not agree with this Declaration but with what he had previously said, Mobile. Date as Above:—

Santiago de la Saussaye

Clerk

[Translation]

Declaration of Simon Burney, October 9, 1784[14]

Today the Ninth of October One Thousand Seven Hundred Eighty-four, By Virtue of the Order of Monsieur Don Pedro Joseph de Favrot, Captain of the Regiment of Infantry of Louisiana, Commandant in the Absence of Monsieur Don Henrique de Grimarest, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Civil and Military Governor of Mobile and Its District, &a. I have called the Said Simon Burney who was required to Take the Oath on the Holy Gospels in the presence of Messrs. Chastang, junior, and McCurtin to Tell the Truth About what will be Asked: Who after the Said Oath Declared the Following:=Ques.—if he Knew the Man that is Imprisoned in the fort, he Replied No, that he did not know him; Ques.—how did they come to be together; he Replied, that the said Robert Welch had Sent him Bound; with a Letter addressed to Monsieur McCurtin; in which he Recommends that he be Placed In the Hands of the Law for Horse stealing; Ques.—In what Nation did the Prisoner Live, he Replied; in the Woods, or rather that he Went from one Nation to Another, and in America, where his Business Was To Steal Negroes and Horses; Ques. If he Knew his Name; he Replied Henry Dickens a Native of South Carolina: Ques. If he Knew Anything else against the Said prisoner he Replied that the Said prisoner Told him on the Road that he had Stolen a Valuable Race-horse from General Clark; that was Shut up under Lock and Key, Before running in a Race in which the Prize was a Hundred Louis and Carried the Said Horse to the Talapuches where he Sold him to a Trader, for forty Louis: Ques. If he had Anything else to Declare he Replied No: In testimony whereof he Signed the present Declaration; with the witnesses Named above; Mobile The same day and Year; that is stated above;—

Simon Burney

Chastang
junior
Cornelius McCurtin

Before me
Santiago de la Saussaye Secy
of
Government

McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Tallassee, November 20, 1784[15]

Sir

I have taken this opporty. to acquaint Your Excellency that I have been detained at home So long in expectation of receiving some despatches from the American Governor of Georgia in answer to what I wrote to him about

[14] A.G.I., P.C., 197.
[15] *Ibid.*, 197.

our Lands on the Oconee River the other day the Same King arrived from Augusta & I have the Satisfaction to Inform Your Excellency that the americans have given a Very Satisfactory answer. the Governor & assembly have forbid the Settling of those lands in the Strongest manner So that the apprehensions I had that we Shoud be obliged to go to war with them to defend our lands is now at an end, but I must observe to Your Excellency that the americans are very uneasy that this Nation has entered into an alliance with the Spanish Nation, & that they have granted leave to English Merchants to Supply this Nation with a Trade from the Floridas, because Such Measures have made the Indians Independent & not beholden to the americans for trade So that they cant have the Sway of the Indians but have lost it. by this Stroke of Policy in the King of Spains officers, who held the Congress with this nation in Pensacola[16] these are The Reasons that makes the americans pretend to be so Moderate to us. tis out of their Jealousy to Spain & I do not thank them for it.

It is now three months Since my friend Mr. Panton wrote me that our Ship was arrived at Providence & that he was going there to carry her round to Pensacola. So that I expect he will be there by the Time this letter reaches your hands. Some private matters Still keep me here, but I will endeavor to be down as soon as possible.

this man is chief of the Eufaule Town, was made a Medal chief at the Congress. Some of his Company is going to carry some little things to trade. If Your Excellency pleases to present him with some Taffia, Tobacco &tc it will be well bestowed.

please excuse this paper as I have no better I have to express my obligations to Your Excellency for the many favors I & my people have received from you, & we have great reason to be thankfull & rejoice that a person of Your Humanity & good dispositions was appointed to the Station you so honorably fill & if ever you Shoud leave it the Creek Nations will very Sensibly feel the loss of a very great Friend to them, but I hope that will not soon be the Case without you Shoud be Removed to a much higher place of honor. . . .

Alex. McGillivray

His Excellency Gov. ONeil

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, July 8, 1785[17]

My dear Sir: I send Your Excellency a copy of the communication of the Provisional Commandant-General of the Province, Don Estevan Miró.

"To all the united reports that I have received from Mr. Alexander Mc-

[16]The "Congress" was held in May and June, 1784. McGillivray was made commissary to the Creeks at a salary of fifty dollars per month. Panton's company was allowed to retain the store at St. Mark's and to send a ship load of goods to Pensacola to supply the immediate needs of the Indians. As subsequent documents will show this temporary permit became permanent. At another congress held at Mobile with the Choctaw and Chickasaw the firm of Mather and Strother was given the trade of those nations. Unable to stand the strain on their credit and to furnish the necessary goods at low enough prices this company retired in 1788 and Panton's company obtained a monopoly of the Indian trade in Spanish territory east of the Mississippi.

[17]A.G.I., P.C., 37.

Gillivray, from an American coming from Augusta, the Chief of the Chickasaws, the Interpreter Fabre, and from a Trader, that the Fort at Natchez is to be attacked by 2,500 man, must be added the report that there has arrived a Commissioner[18] from the State of Georgia who has presented himself to the Commandant of the said Fort suggesting that he give up the Fort as included in the 31st Degree of North Latitude; which the State itself has decided belongs to it for a boundary on the Mississippi. Since the arrival of the said Commissioner the same report has been spread abroad that was given by McGillivray and the others mentioned above, that 1500 men who have come by Land are already encamped about 30 Leagues from the said Fort in the interior of the Territory, and that another Body is coming down the River with Artillery.—In view of all this I have ordered the Sergeant-Major with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Francisco Bouligny, to leave tomorrow with 46 men to re-enforce Natchez, and to take command of it, and I am preparing for Gunboats to go up with him. If the 300 that are expected from Havana should arrive you will have more troops than you have had since the Peace, and even if they have not the Action that I ask of you is so urgent that it cannot be put off.—With the above mentioned hundred men there should come Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro Piernas to Serve as my Second in command in this Expedition.=With the 500 men of the veteran Troops that I can collect, including the one hundred already mentioned, and another 500, which is the greatest number of Militia that I can call together from the entire Province, I expect to stop the designs of these ambitious neighbors, keeping always on the defensive, unless some other favorable opportunity presents itself. Meanwhile His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez is sending me the Troops from this City that remain with him to help me, but altogether they will not be 400 men.—Since in similar emergencies we should join forces to uphold the honor of our Arms, and it being evident that Your Lordship has nothing to fear from any side, it is necessary for you to send me as quickly as possible two Pickets of fifty men each from the 2nd Battalion there, one commanded by a Captain and a subaltern and the other by a Lieutenant and a sub-lieutenant. If it is not possible to change the Guard of the Forts with the men that remain, you may divide them into stationary Detachments located in each of the Forts, where in spite of being more widely separated and subject to more hardships the training of the Recruits can be continued.=I ask that for this purpose alone they leave tomorrow in the Galveztown."

And in conformity with what he wrote me I immediately ordered the troops he requested to be enrolled; and also twenty-two Grenadiers taken from the Ordinary Companies for the Corresponding companies that are in New Orleans; although Contrary Winds did not permit the departure of

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[18]Thomas Green, one of the four commissioners sent to erect Bourbon county. The others were Nicholas Long, William Davenport and Nathaniel Christmas. Green was a resident of Natchez. He arrived there in May, 1782, in a boat load of shady characters who were fleeing from the consequences of having stolen from both sides during the Revolution. Declaration of Thomas Ethridge, Natchez, May 26, 1782, preserved in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, (hereinafter cited A.N.C.,F.) legajo 3, No. 8. Ethridge arrived in the boat with Green.

this Aid until yesterday the 7th which left in Six Boats by way of the Bayou under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro Piernas.

And heedful of the request made of me by Captain Pedro Fabrot, substitute Commandant of Mobile, I ordered a re-enforcement of twenty-five men to start from here on the 4th from which it results that in this Garrison there remain two Captains, ten subalterns, and 330 men.

I have sent the interpreter Antonio Garzon to the Creek Nations to obtain exact information of the movements or conduct of the neighboring Americans; and I have written to the Commissary Mr. Alexander McGillivray informing him of the grant of his Salary by Your Excellency, and I hope to be able on the first opportunity to give Your Excellency more circumstantiated intelligence about this matter, about which I suspend judgment in the meantime.

If Circumstances should require that we become hostile to our neighbors, I flatter myself that the continuation of Your Excellency's favor will not be lacking and I assure you that although the number of the Garrison is reduced, with a Detachment from it and a sufficient number of Indians, whom I have made grateful by some presents, I shall be able to spread terror on the Frontiers of Georgia and Carolina. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, July 21, 1785[19]

My dear Sir. On the 8th of this month I had the honor to inform Your Excellency of the dispositions of Colonel Estevan Miró Provisional Commandant-General of this Province, who is afraid that the Americans will attack the Fort at Natchez, but according to information I have acquired from the Chies and Cherokees through their trade here, it seems that the reports that provoked these dispositions Were Imaginary; and According to what the Intendant Don Martin Navarro tells me the reply of the Commissaries is awaited in New Orleans to know what they believe, since they refused to enter into any operations whatever.

A Canoe proceeding from Ylinueses [St. Louis] met another that was going up to the Ohio River from whom it was learned that no Troops or inhabitants were seen in those places. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

Panton to O'Neill, Pensacola, July 30, 1785[20]

May it please Your Excellency,

As the Indian goods, which I imported into this place, by Your desire and that of the Intendant General of Lucianna is nearly expended, and as

[19]A.G.I., P.C., 37. Gálvez replied to this on September 22, 1785, stating that Miró had sent him a similar report. Copy in the McClung Collection, *ibid.*

[20]A.G.I., P.C., 201. See McGillivray to O'Neill, July 24, 1785 (A.N.C., F., 10, No. 54), in D. C. Corbitt, "Papers relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XX, No. 4 (December, 1936), 356-65.

the Indians and Traders of the several Nations who depend on this government for support, will soon be down again for their Winter Supplys, it will be necessary that measures be taken to procure a further importation of goods otherwise those people who live at a great distance after taking a Journey of several hundred miles will have to return miserably disappointed.

It is out of the line of my duty, and indeed unnecessary for me to urge to you the evil tendency such a disappointment would have on the minds of those people because Your own knowledge of the grief of the human heart will naturally suggest to you the ill consequences upon such an occasion, after the promises which hath been made to them, and more especially at this critical period when the Americans are using every artifice to gain the Indians over to their interest.

I have already wrote the Intendant General of Lucianna on this subject wherein I made an offer of my service in procuring an immediate supply, and as it rests with that Gentleman & Your Excellency to determine upon the propriety of the measure, the only thing that remains with me to do, is to state the terms in which it will be in my power to execute it in case you should think proper to employ our House on that service and which are as follows

I will order and cause to be imported from our House in East Florida and New Providence a sufficient quantity of goods for the immediate consumption of the Indians in this district, but as the navigation from thence, is difficult and dangerous for large vessels I must be furnished with a general Lycence to enable me to import the goods in such small vessels as I can engage for that service not, however, to exceed in value beyond thirty five thousand Dollars.

2d. And as a further supply of Indian trading goods will absolutely be wanted against the beginning of next May, or June at farthest I will engage to procure a sufficiency to be at the port by that time, to last for the demands of the Indians for one whole year provided I am furnished with the necessary passports to import the same immediately from England and which I shall have the liberty of bringing in two small ships, or [illegible] the [illegible] to guard against a total disappointment by shipwreck, or otherwise, further engaging that the whole shall not exceed the sum of one hundred & twenty thousand milled Dollars & that the said goods shall consist of Indian Trading articles only.

I will engage to satisfy the 6 psent duty upon the importation of the foregoing goods, except such proportion, as may have already paid the said duty at Augustine, to which I may have occasion to import from thence for the immediate consumption of the Indians in this district—such goods shall be exempted from any duty on producing a certificate from his Excellency Governor De Cespides that the same had already been paid.

That on the importation of the said goods, I shall cause the same to be vended at the prices of the Tariff agreed upon at the general Congress held at Pensacola June [?] 1784.

5th. That I shall in return for these cargoes be permitted to export Peltrie & other produce of these Provinces, having it at my option to make the remit-

tances immediately to the Port where the said goods is imported from, or by way of France or Spain as I may think most for my interest, and as the said vessels will arrive in the height of the summer when skins, from there [*sic.*] perishable nature, cannot be kept, I must therefore have the liberty of sending the said vessels away and they shall be freely permitted to depart without any hindrance whatsoever, and to return again in ballast during the Winter to remove the effects that shall be received in payment of said cargoes nor shall any other [scratched] duty or imposts be laid upon the said imports or exports except what has already been expressed in the 3d Article. —I request of Your Excellency that you will be pleased, after [illegible] of the foregoing proposals, to forward the same to the Hon'ble Martin Navarro, Esqr. & that I may be furnished with an answer as soon as possible. . . .

Wm. Panton

N. B. I should have mentioned that the firm of our House is Panton, Leslie & Co. and that passports must be made out for them under that firm.
His Excellency Governor O'Neill.

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, FORT PANMURE, NATCHEZ, JULY 24, 1785[21]

No. 8

My dear Sir: Since my arrival yesterday at this fort I have conferred with the Brevet lieutenant-colonel and former Commandant of this fort and district, Don Felipe Treviño, About various matters, particularly About Mr. Davenport, Commissioner of the States of Georgia to decide the Boundaries dividing us, in which capacity he has presented himself here without other antecedents or Documents than some papers by which he seems to be authorized by the said States to do this in concert with the other three Persons of whom you are informed.

I have also been informed that the Conduct of this Person since His arrival here is very Suspicious, that in addition to what I informed you of on the 11th of this month, he continues to conduct himself always in a very irregular manner and not at all in keeping with the character with which he pretends to be invested, frequently giving himself over to drink and Sustaining Seditious conversations which he tries to paliate, declaring them to the adjutant of this fort, Doubtless in order that his conduct may come to the knowledge of him who commands here in order not to cause him *armonia* [*sic.*] afterwards when he comes to know it by an other route, an Opinion which is the same as Don Felipe Treviño has formed and which seems to me well founded.

I have also been informed, that since the last letter I wrote you about this matter, the said Davenport has said in public conversation before the Adjutant of this fort, Don Estevan Minor, and in a determined manner, that this district belongs to the United States of America, and that in one way or another they will soon take possession of it; upon being informed of which

[21] A.G.I., P.C., 2352.

conversations Don Felipe Treviño charged the said Adjutant to try to make Friends with Davenport in order to get him to talk, which he has done. He learned from Davenport that for the present no troops will come here, but that they are ready to come on the first demand, which information, it cannot be doubted (whether it be true or not) he will have communicated to many other inhabitants.

I have also learned from the same source, that two days before my coming there arrived at this post by land Captain Call and Doctor West, conducted by one of the traders in the Chickasaw Nation named Thomas Dove (a person of high esteem), who as soon as they arrived here presented themselves to the above mentioned Davenport and through him to Don Felipe Treviño; that the said Call and West came here sent from the Choctaws by the other two companions of Davenport, Major Long and Crimes [Christmas],[22] who came by land, and had stopped in the Choctaws to learn the state of this district and to get news of Davenport, whether he had been arrested or not, with which news they were to decide whether to come or to remain there, and immediately send the above mentioned Thomas Dove to carry them the News, all of which they did, the said Dove leaving the day after with the knowledge of Don Felipe Treviño and with His passport.

These two Persons have not presented themselves [to me] yet although Davenport offered to present them the following day. Call is lodged in the House of John Bournet and West in the House of William Henderson. Since the arrival of these two Persons it has been noised all over this district that Long and Crimes have with them three thousand dollars worth of fine Merchandise of trade for gifts to the Chickasaws to attract them to the American side. This news has been confirmed by what has been told to Don Felipe Treviño by Carlos Royaux alias Lafont, a Frenchman who arrived six days ago from the Chickasaw Nation. He said that on his arrival in the said nation some three months ago he found it reported that the Americans would come and take possession of this post (which the Savages did not at all believe), but the vagabond Americans and Europeans in that nation were positively assured of it: that some days after his arrival in the said nation, and about a month ago, he saw eight Americans arrive, two of whom seemed to be distinguished persons who brought with them various goods: that he heard it said there that these Americans asked the Chickasaws to take part in an expedition which they said was to take possession of this District but that the Chickasaws had replied to them that they would take neither side and that they were going to remain neutral: and finally he said that Six days before he left the said nation a Chickasaw arrived who came from the Cherokee River giving the news that there were more than three hundred men working there with all speed constructing *Chalanes*,[23] Bateaux and all kind of Boats with the idea of Carrying a thousand men, Artillery and Munitions of War.

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[22]Nicholas Long and Nathaniel Christmas. See E. C. Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785-86," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XV (1909-10), 66-111, 297-353.

[23]The words *chalan* and *chato* are used interchangeably to designate the large flatboats used on the western rivers. A commentary on the use of the words is found in Miró to Senora, January 17, 1787. A.G.I., P.C., 86. (Transcript in the McClung Collection).

Because of these reports, and to verify a part of them Don Felipe Treviño sent a Person of his confidence named Stephen Hayward, a Loyalist and an inhabitant of this district to go and find out what was happening on the said River and charged him to be as quick as possible, and I expect him back here in the shortest time that he can go and come. I have asked him to indicate to me one or two Persons of this class in order to be able to send them to the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers where most of the American Population is located and I can do no less than learn these things, a collection of which will give me more certainty. To these observers that I propose to send as soon as Don Felipe Treviño indicates to me Persons who are trustworthy and capable, I shall add those that Your Lordship advised in your instruction, to assure myself by all means possible of the number of troops, Artillery, Munitions and the kinds of Bateaux or *Chalanes* in which they plan to come down, for in view of all these reports I cannot doubt the reality and effectiveness with which they are preparing to come down and support their claims with arms, believing that they have a right to all the territory on this River North of the 31st Degree, and to the Navigation of the River.

Don Estevan Minor has just told me that having been in conversation with Mr. Davenport about the construction of the Bateaux on the Cherokee River he said that these reports were false, that the boats had been finished for some days. Davenport also told him that if the fort and district were not handed over to him within two months after his arrival he had orders to establish and administer justice in the district in the name of the States of Georgia—

This is the summary of the news that Don Felipe Treviño and Don Estevan Minor have communicated to me, and in view of these things and the antecedents and conditions of this country it seems to me that it is necessary and convenient to have this said Davenport come down here in a dignified manner if possible, a point that I shall think over while the boat arrives, in which interval perhaps I shall receive Your orders about the matter for which I would be infinitely thankful because I am not in a position to work by myself and to take decided action, considering that he might oppose me. Don Felipe Treviño tells me that he has already talked with the said Davenport on this point and that he replied that he would not be opposed to going down to New Orleans provided that he would not be treated badly, a proposition that I shall accept if he makes it to me (for I have not yet seen him) giving him Conditionally the security that he asks on the Supposition that the commission he brings is genuine. This security to my way of thinking does not free him from the accusations merited by his conduct since he arrived. You may do afterwards what you think best. This proposition of Davenport's makes me think that there must be somebody that he fears and it is certain proof of the charges which his own conscience makes.

It seems well to me to add, although I am persuaded that you are not ignorant of the fact, that at least 20 days are necessary for an unhampered man accustomed to these journeys, if he has the good fortune to overcome the many difficulties, swamps and Bayous and all the other inconveniences and do the other things necessary, to cross so vast a country full of Forests of undergrowth and thickets. For this reason it is to be feared that the news

will either be delayed or will not arrive. There is also danger of the fidelity of the persons who are sent, because in this district it is difficult to find a man capable of making the journey whose Conduct does not give shades of misgiving. In addition these unimpeded men go and return and after 15 or 20 days the rumors and doubts are born again. For this reason it seems to me, saving the opinion of Your Lordship, that it would be well to send an officer in disguise with five or six soldiers who are to be trusted to take up their residence on the Cherokee River itself in order that if something new of importance arises one of the soldiers may be dispatched. If this thought merits your approval it seems to me that Sub-lieutenant Diego Blanco (James White) could do it, for he is reputed to be an expert woodsman, or any other person that you find proper. The difficulties that this journey offers do not give reasons to doubt here that organized troops may come by that route to attack us, since they are able to prepare their Expedition on the Cherokee River and coming down with the current arrive here in 15 or 20 days after Starting without suffering the least fatigue or discomfort. From the Cherokee River it is very easy to learn what happens on the Cumberland, at the Falls, and in Kentucky, all of which settlements could be watched and particularly the last where there is the largest population. . . .

Francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, AUGUST 4, 1785[24]

No. 17

My dear Sir. Yesterday the Chief Achafalé arrived here, whose affection and fidelity Your Lordship knows, and of whom Don Felipe Treviño has given me the most favorable report; he came with six warriors to see me accompanied by St. Germain. The latter has told me that the said Chief came full of anxiety and fear, because of reports spread in the Chactow village of a large party in which it is supposed to be a thing already certain and accomplished, that the Spaniards were evacuating this District: That there have arrived in the said Nation, several Americans who came from Georgia, with merchandise, and in their conversations talked much of War; That Thomas Green was there saying that shortly he would present himself before this Fort, in a different way from what he did the last time: That he had learned from several Chies, who had arrived from the Chactow Nation, that in the Chie villages there were also several Americans, who had come there with merchandise, and among them some suspicious people: That they were spreading the word to the Chies, as well as to the Chactows that they must not mix in the disputes they were going to have with the Spaniards; That these Chies also reported that the Americans were working hard to construct *Chalanes*, and Bateaux, on the banks of the Cumberland and Cherokee Rivers: That in all the American Towns on the Ohio, there were rumors of War, which has determined him to come and find out from me whether all this was true, offering his services to me with many expressions of affection and fidel-

[24]A.G.I., P.C., 11.

ity. I have replied thanking him for his zeal, and calming him about these reports, but inwardly thinking that it was necessary to make sure, I have decided to avail myself of this Indian's services, to send him with Don Luis Chacharé, a Merchant established in the Town of Natchez, who had the day before voluntarily offered himself. This young man is sagacious and understanding, speaks French, English and Spanish well, and by the fidelity and affection he has already shown toward the Spaniards, I have reason to believe we can put full faith in his reports.

I have preferred to use this person, because here one can put little confidence in the people who roam about the Country, and especially those who are accustomed to make these journeys; Two of them that have been indicated to me, and to whom I spoke about making the journey without saying why, offered to come another day, and I have not seen them since.

I also avail myself of this means so that accompanied by Achafalé, and the six warriors, he can send one of them as soon as he acquires news that may be interesting, so I trust that within forty or fifty days I shall not leave Your Lordship anything to desire in this particular.

I have told the said Chacharé that his expenses will be fully repaid, and that I shall recommend him to Your Lordship for having done a special and distinguished service, with emphasis on the Sacrifice he is making in leaving his Home and Business. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, NEW ORLEANS, AUGUST 5, 1785[25]

Your letter No. 3 of July 24th gives me a full account of the news current at that Post, and of the continued misconduct of William Davenport, about which I have advised you in my previous letters as to what should be done.

You must not permit any Americans to arrive at that Post without reporting within 24 hours, and in order that they be not able to allege ignorance you will announce that any planter to whose country house anyone arrives, letting 24 hours pass without reporting the arrival, will be subject to a fine and punishment according to the circumstances. I believe that Captain Call and Dr. West will have complied with this, but if not it will be necessary to oblige them to do it, and unless they are authorized by some of the Commissioners of the United States, or are part of the retinue of some of them, you will oblige them to return; and as a general rule you will do the same with any who present themselves under other circumstances, unless there is something you have to report to me about them, in which case you will await my reply.

As to sending an Officer with soldiers to the Cumberland River I consider it very risky, but if after the return of the Loyalist sent by Don Felipe Treviño it seems opportune and necessary that another go, it will be useful

[25] *Ibid.*, 3.

for a sergeant, corporal or soldier of confidence to accompany him, so as to bind the Englishman whom you will send with a passport in which you will state that he goes to negotiate about lands. The Englishmen is necessary because he speaks the language of the country and can acquire the interesting news, and the Spaniard so that he can see whether or not they are building boats, watch over the conduct of his companion, and do everything that might lead to the discovery of the plans of the Americans. You will choose, if possible a Person who has some interest at stake, indicate the remuneration that you think necessary, and give a reward to the sergeant, corporal or soldier. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, September 4, 1785[26]

My dear Sir: Antonio Garzon the Interpreter for the Creek Nations (whom I sent to them to obtain news about the American Frontiers, in the matter of the meditated attack by the Americans, as is reported, on the Fort at Natchez) has returned to this place with Mr. Alexander McGillivray, the Commissary recently appointed to the said Nations, with the Single report that in Carolina and Georgia a small number of recruits were being gathered; who according to rumors heard were to go to the American Settlement on the Cumberland, and to the territories of Natchez, many Families having already gone to the former settlement from the said Provinces; and although I believe Natchez is not in danger of the attack because of the two Companies of Grenadiers who have gone there from New Orleans; nevertheless I agree with what Mr. Alexander McGillivray proposed to me, which is that the Creek Nations are determined not to permit any Americans to go through their Lands, nor to go to the settlements on the Cumberland, nor to any other place near the Mississippi River, while no treaty is made to that effect with the consent of Our Monarch: and they are determined to persuade the Chie and Cherokee Nations, who seem disposed to do so, to take the same steps. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Miró, August 17, 1785[27]

My dear Sir: For the information of Your Lordship I enclose a copy of the Letter of the Indian Commissary, Alexander McGillivray,[28] together with the decision of the Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee Nations. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[26] *Ibid.*, 37.
[27] *Ibid.*

[Translation]

O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, August 19, 1785[29]

My dear Sir: By your letter of the 20th of last month I am informed of what took place about the demand of the Americans for the Castle and territory of Natchez, and the System and policy you have presented to me is most fitting. Besides doing that the present Commandant of the said post might arrest the indicated Thomas Brin [Green], and send him to New Orleans to be put at the disposal of Your Lordship, since it is said that the said Brin is an inhabitant of Natchez and consequently may be considered as a Rebel Vassal of ours. It would not be a bad idea to stir up discord between the restless inhabitants of that place (who propose to form a State independent of the Americans) and the Commissioners or envoys sent by the States of Georgia to lay out the County of Bourbon, who ask for the evacuation of the Fort mentioned, by which means their reaching an agreement with one another will be avoided and consequently their forces will be weakened.

The Copy of the letter written to you by McGillivray, that you mentioned has not come to my hands. The latter before leaving here told me that he had informed you that he had reports that the States of Georgia had ordered several families to go and make the new settlement of Bourbon; and because of the rumors among the Americans themselves he feared that they would attack the Fort at Natchez, and what makes it more probable is that he was informed that in Carolina and Georgia some troops were being recruited for that purpose; but that the number was small, and that he thought that without the decision of the general Congress of the United States they were duty bound not to come to a break with Our Monarch, and that he was not informed of the number of Families or troops that had gone to Cumberland because they did not go through the Creek or Cherokee Nations but through the Abeykas. . . . Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

Miró to Bouligny, New Orleans, August 22, 1785[30]

I am informed by your letter of the 17th that you sent Don Luis Chaccheré [*sic.*], acompanied by the Choctaw Chief, Achafalé, and six warriors, to see whether it is certain that the Americans are building scows (*chalanes*) and Bateaux on the Cumberland and Cherokee Rivers, and to seek out any other news that might interest us; and that you have offered to amply repay the first [Chacheré] the expenses which he may incur, all of which I approve, and hope that it may result in knowing the plans which may be laid against that district. . . . Estevan Miró

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny

[28]For McGillivray's letter see Corbitt, "Georgia-Florida Frontier," *loc. cit.*, XX, No. 4, 356-65. A translation of the memorial of the Indians appears in *ibid.*, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1937), 73-83.

[29]A.G.I., P.C., 37.

[30]*Ibid.*, 3.

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, SEPTEMBER 1, 1785[31]

No. 52

My dear Sir; I enclose to Your Lordship the second letter that I have received from the commissioners, and my reply,[32] with the transmission of which Your Lordship will gain time and will be able to receive Orders from the General.[33] Since the arrival of the last two commissioners they have united their Followers with those of Davenport, in a house near the residence of Brocas, where they continue quietly and politely: in the same house they have established a *salón* which they call the *salón* of Friendship where they meet to open my letters, to answer them, and to confer about matters that present themselves. These People observe decorum in all that they do, and do not abandon themselves to any excess. Last Monday the three were invited to eat at the house of Adam Bringeman, where having gone casually in the afternoon I found them there with Mrs. Hutchins and Mrs. Davenport who left at nightfall, one to go to her home and the other to go to the house of Mr. Richard Ellis, where she intends to reside. The attention that these commissioners are beginning to receive already from those people who have always been most inclined toward us, and a statement from Long to Duforest telling him that the least lack of subordination on the part of these people to the Spanish Government would be a very bad recommendation for America, gives me reason to think that their idea is to ingratiate themselves with the people of this Town but in a most dangerous way, not compromising themselves in anything they remain sheltered from any charge.

Having sent Don Antonio Soler to Colle's Creek twelve leagues from here on the pretext of seeing about the lumber I have ordered from him, I told him to investigate and find out what was going on in that district, and especially what Thomas Green was doing. On his return I learned that Thomas Green had left the district with three of his negroes and one of his minor sons, and that nothing else had happened.

I have also charged Mr. Hutchins[34] to go five leagues from here on the second Creek, to observe all that was going on in that district, and to communicate with me immediately if there was any unusual news.

I continue working here to put myself in as good a state of defense as possible in case some unforeseen event occurs. A Frenchman named Fournier who has just arrived from the Ohio River with a [Barge?] which he has left in the *Gran Goufre* 18 leagues from here, and of which I have given Your Lordship separate information, assures me that there is nothing unusual ocurring on the Ohio River, that he has not seen any Cannon, that the population is small, that at the Falls and in Kentucky from where he has come and where there are the most People not a single *Chalan* is being built. That he has not seen a single soldier, nor heard anyone say the least thing about

[31] *Ibid.*, 11.
[32] This correspondence is printed in Burnett, *op. cit.*
[33] Bernardo de Gálvez.
[34] Possibly Col. Hutchins, a Tory officer from Natchez.

intending or desiring to come down here, although this Person knows nothing about what is going on in Cumberland, Cherokee, Vincennes post, nor on the Wabash; His reports reassure me for the present, but not to the point of losing sight of my greatest defense in this Fort, for the question that is on the table being of so much importance to America and to Spain, may from one moment to another cause a break, and the condition of things, and the difficulties that present themselves will make impracticable much that is necessary if the last extreme is awaited before putting them into execution. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, September 4, 1785[35]

My dear Sir: I enclose to Your Excellency that which has been agreed upon by the Chies, Choctaws, Cherokees and Creeks; sent to me by our Commissary in the said Creek Nations, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, in which he tells me that they have made this Treaty, assuring themselves that they will constantly obtain here the goods suited to their trade; in view of which I have asked the said McGillivray for two other copies of what I send to Your Excellency, which I have sent to Don Estevan Miró and Don Martin Navarro, who I am persuaded will find the means to continue the trade with these Nations; without which I foresee they will embrace the offers of the Americans, and I believe that the said McGillivray, a native of Talapoosa, would preferably follow whatever the rest of his Indian compatriots decided to be advantageous, notwithstanding that at present he prefers our friendship and asks for its continuation. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

[Translation]

Bouligny to Miró, Natchez, September 14, 1785[36]

No. 62

My dear Sir, I have informed Your Lordship under Date of August 28 (no. 44) of the arrival here of Thomas Green and under Date of September 1st (no. 52)[37] of his having left suddenly, the reason for which is that his son must have given him orally the answer to the letter which he [Green] had written. I have had reports that his sons highly disapprove of the said Green's conduct, and even more his three Companions, who I am told have sent word to Georgia, throwing the blame on the said Green for the disturbance he had cause here, and they do not doubt that he will be severely reprimanded and punished, for the first command that he was given in his instructions, was that he should not give the least cause for uneasiness to the Officer who

[35]A.G.I., P.C., 37.

[36]*Ibid.*, 37.

[37]Printed in Burnett, *op. cit.*

commanded here; To this reason it is also added that Green, using the blank commission given him, has dared to assume the character of Governor,[38] a thing that even if the cession had been verified Green had no authority to do, without their approval and the General vote of the People. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, OCTOBER 4, 1785[39]

No. 68

My dear Sir; by the Bateau of Mr. Bennett Smith, I have received the letters containing the Orders of Your Lordship dated September 9th to 11th, which I shall put into execution and shall reply to them by the same Bateau which should leave day after tomorrow. The Bearer named Charles Bolaski who came here from the Ohio River with only a small Pirogue, says he is a Pole, has a business house in Cumberland and lives by the trade he carries on from one river to another, he seems to be a man of some education, he says that having left Kaskaskia with a Boat loaded with an assortment of goods he was robbed by the oarsmen who left him alone on the River Bank, in which situation having by chance procured a small pirogue he has come down alone in pursuit of the Oarsmen whom he presumes have passed by here in the night and must have gone to New Orleans. I have asked him several questions, and learning by his replies and by some papers that what he says is true I have given him a passport to go to that city, and this letter to give to Your Lordship and you may decide what you find most convenient. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, OCTOBER 6, 1785[40]

No. 69

My dear Sir; Mr. Elliot an inhabitant of this district, the bearer of this letter, goes down to solicit from Your Lordship and from the Intendant permission to sell 230 regular sized Barrels of flour, and 28 medium sized barrels that have arrived here in two *Chalanes* coming from Fort Pitt from which they departed at the beginning of last June, having been detained on the journey by the necessity of rebuilding two *Chalanes* to carry the flour that was in another which was too large and the water was so shallow that it could not navigate. Said Elliot comes down with the owner, or part owner of said flour, named Perry. I have had the said flour deposited in the King's Warehouse in Charge of Don Juan Joseph Rodriguez, while the Intendant decides

[38]For Green's instructions and activities see Burnett, *op. cit.*, and Corbitt, "Some Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XIX, No. 3 (September, 1935), 251-63.

[39]A.G.I., P.C., 11.

[40]*Ibid.*

about the matter; The five Oarsmen who came down with the said *Chalanes,* having represented to me the difficulty they find in living here have asked for passports to return to Cumberland, where they have their homes and families, which permission I have granted. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, OCTOBER 17, 1785[41]

No. 87

My dear Sir; I enclose to Your Lordship the reply of the Commissioners to Your Lordship's Communication dated September 7th which they sent me the 16th of this Month, acompanied by a private letter that they wrote me which I also enclose to Your Lordship so that you may be informed of the reasons they allege for having delayed their reply; in the said letter I have also enclosed a copy of what they wrote to Your Lordship so that you may ascertain whether it conforms to the Original. Mr. Nicholas Long left here yesterday saying that he was going to Cumberland for which he asked, and I gave him a passport. He has gone very much pleased with the way I have treated him; which I can also say of his conduct during his stay here. Mr. William Davenport, and Mr. Nathaniel Christmas have remained here, so that the two together can prepare representations in consequence of the orders that they may receive from Georgia. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, OCTOBER 26, 1785[42]

No. 98

My dear Sir; When Don Luis Chacharé left for Cumberland, with the commission I gave him, he told me that for the necessities that might arise on so long a journey, he wanted to carry two hundred *pesos* in Gold, which Amount it being impossible to find here at any premium, he Begged me to find a way to procure it on which request felipe Trevinó being present, he offered to let him have it, which offer I permitted, telling him to take a receipt from the said Chacharé, as a loan he had made him, which he would repay on his return: Not having informed Your Lordship of this circumstance because I have not spoken to Don felipe Trevinó since that time, and remembering it now, I comply with the promise I made him to inform Your Lordship and Beg you to order the said Don felipe Trevinó to be repaid this Amount that he Supplied from His purse, and for which I made myself

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Ibid.*

personally responsible in order to facilitate a journey directed toward the best Service of the King. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Talassie, November 8, 1785[43]

Sir

When I did myself the pleasure of writing last to Your Excellency you had the Letters and talks that the American Commissioners sent to us for the purpose of holding a treaty with this nation and which we rejected as we have done all their former requisitions to the Same purport.

I believe I can account for the reason why the Americans seek to Conciliate the friendship of these Indians with so much Solicitude—The British nation has thought proper to alter the Boundary Line of Canada from that laid down in the Treaty of peace and have retained the forts of Detroit, Niagara and all the other posts on the Lakes & have lately strengthened the Works and reenforced the Garrisons whereby the Northern Nations of Indians are protected and meet with their usual Support and have renewed hostilitys against the Americans with Great Vigour

The policy of Your Government in tolerating the Indian Trade in the manner it now is will not fail of having its Effects in Keeping up the formidable Indian Confederacy of the late war against the Americans & must always be a great check on the States in preventing their ambitious designs of possessing themselves of all the Western Countrys

As I have the Strongest desire to See the americans kept within due Bounds so I have given my opinion of the best way that can be accomplished and while these Nations Continue to receive the Same Support of Trade and Encouragement. through the Floridas as the English Nation afford the Northern Indians from Canada the Indians will never Solicit the Friendship or the Alliance of the Americans

I have been informed that some Choctaw or Chickasaw Traders entend to apply for leave to Settle Some land above Mobile as Inhabitants at Some time I find out that if they obtain permission they mean to Introduce into that Settlement a fuigitive Banditti of Americans who have been banished from Natchez for Seditious practices & other Vagabonds from Cumberland—to prevent the bad consequences that would arise from the establishment of these Miscreants at that place I have to Entreat of Your Excellency to advise the Commandant of Mobile not to give his Consent to any person from those Nations to Settle on any pretence Whatever and endeed there are Settlers enough already and no more ought to be received from no Country

I entend Setting out for Mr McLatchy's in a few days & from thence to

[43] *Ibid.*, 37.

St Augustine if the Winter Shou'd not prove Wet and dissagreeable and in the Spring shall do myself the pleasure of Waiting upon You. . . .

Alexander McGillivray

His Excellency Govr. O Neill

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 11, 1785[44]

No. 107—

In communication No. 86 you sent me the original of a Letter that you had just received from Don Luis Chacheré written from the Chickasaws on September 5th, telling me that he had given a small gift to the mestizo Campbell who brought it, acompanied by Captain Natabé Mashtabe, having made him pay 400 *pesos* which he owed the estate of the said Albertson, all of which I approve and will make the best use of the news. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny

[Translation]

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, DECEMBER 11, 1785[45]

No. 122

My dear Sir: I have just been informed that Mr. William Davenport, and Mr. Nathaniel Christmas with all their retinue are leaving the house of Brocius, where they were gathered, in compliance with Your Lordship's orders.

Tomorrow I shall send Don Antonio Soler to Cole's Creek so that he may advise me whether they have stopped there, or if they are going on; and to try to find out whether Don Tazito Gaillard is with them: in order to make sure of this and also to find out what they are saying and the plans that they will not fail to make on the road; I have Ordered the said Duet to follow their movements for several days, to mix with them and to continue as if it were their intention to go a day's journey beyond Cole's Creek.

I have learned through Don Felipe Treviño that for the last four or five days before leaving, no one heard Mr. William Davenport say a word but that his face showed great sadness and a profound thoughtfulness; I am also informed by the said Don Felipe; from news acquired in the house of Mrs. Bingaman, that all the debts that Mr. William Davenport had contracted here, had been paid and satisfied before his departure, and that they go abundantly supplied with all Kind of provisions, and are taking with them Fourteen Pack Horses. . . .

francisco Bouligny

Señor Don Estevan Miró

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[44] *Ibid.*, 3.

[45] *Ibid.*, 11.

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GÁLVEZ, NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 10, 1785[46]

No. 258

My dear Sir: I include to Your Excellency a copy of a letter from Don Luis Chacheré who has carried out the commission given him by Don Francisco Bouligny with my approval and that of Your Excellency, to determine whether or not *chalanes* were being constructed on the Cumberland, or on the Ohio, or other preparations for war were being made, as some Indians had reported, and to learn about those Countries. From it, as Your Excellency will see, it turns out that they have not thought of hostility, as I have already informed Your Excellency, and only the news which he gives, that General Clark is recruiting for war against the Indians who began it on the Ohio, can make one think that the said Levy will be employed against Natchez, in case the discussion about the boundaries is not settled amicably.

I also include under number 2 the translation of the Letter of Green who is wandering in the Nations. I will not approve its interception, because Chacheré had no order whatever to do it since it is not regular to intercept private correspondence during peace. Nevertheless it has been useful, because it makes evident that Green is not supported by troops, nor a promise that any will be sent him, as he insinuated in his tumultuous passes at Natchez—

The most important news that Chacheré gives is that six or seven inhabitants of Cumberland have gone to survey lands on the Bluffs of Margot [Chickasaw Bluffs] on the bank of this River, 320 leagues from the Capital, where, it seems, they have the idea of making a settlement, which land will be reconnoitred when the Keelboats [*Lanchones*] go up to Illinois, which will be at the beginning of March, and if Your Excellency wants to instruct me about this matter, what I should tell them if any are found established there, time remains for it. . . .

Estevan Miró

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez

New Orleans December, 10, 1785

No. 258

The Governor sends a copy of the news that Don Luis Chacheré has sent him which he went to find out, about whether or not boats were being constructed by the Americans on the Cumberland River.

[Translation]

CHACHERÉ TO BOULIGNY [1785][47]

No. 1

Translation

My dear Sir: The eight of the present month I left the Chickasaws after having received from Monsieur Turnbull all the news, I continued my Journey toward the Cumberland settlement without other incident than the loss of

[46] *Ibid.*, 3.
[47] *Ibid.*

two horses, which the Indians stole at the *Linzás* River. After 11 days travel we arrived at the Plantation of Mr. Robertson whom we did not see, because he had left with six or seven inhabitants, to pick out and survey lands on the Bluffs of Margot, or Chickasaw Bluffs as they call them. This place is one of the most beautiful locations on the Mississippi, the land is the richest, the Forests are lovely, the water of excellent quality, and enough for a considerable Establishment which the Americans propose to make, in spite of the fact that the Chickasaws assure them daily that they will oppose them, and it is even believed in Cumberland that this party will not return. These Bluffs are situated 10 leagues from the San Francisco de Arkansas River on the west bank of the Mississippi.

As I carried a Letter for Mr. Robertson, I begged his Wife to open it and read it to me, which she did; having seen that it was only about me. I left the next day to present myself to the other Leaders, and went to the Town where I had scarcely arrived when I received their visit in the House of Mr. Clark, a business man in this settlement, where Mr. Plesdso [Bledsoe], one of them began to speak, and after the ordinary compliments asked me what reasons had constrained me to undertake so long and tedious a journey, in such a severe season. I satisfied him, and he said to me that he had taken this step because the inhabitants feared that I was a spy sent by the Spanish Government, and they had charged him as their Leader to find out about the matter: I begged him to remember that the two Crowns were at peace, and, as I believed, there was no sign of an early break, that in my opinion anyone had a right to travel without other motive than that called forth by curiosity. He did not seem to be entirely satisfied with my reasoning, but did not openly reject it. Among other reasons he maintained that the place from which I came was under dispute, that the Mississippi River was not open, etc. I refuted his reasons and he pretended to be satisfied, promising me his assistance in anything in which he could serve me.

I remained in Cumberland the time I thought necessary to get acquainted with that settlement, its customs, and the manners of its inhabitants. On the eleventh, when I planned to leave for the falls [*chute*],[48] two men arrived from the Nations. I made the chance acquaintance of one of them, and he told me that he had letters sent by the Georgia Commissioners to the Leading Men of Cumberland, and being persuaded that these were against me, I proposed to him to show them to me, which he did, and finding one of them torn open, I plainly saw that I was denounced in it as a spy; and knowing how important it was for me to intercept it, I took the means that I believed most proper to carry out my plan, and with much difficulty I obtained it for the sum of 200 dollars, and hearing that others would be sent about my journey, I started down the River in a small Canoe, the land Routes being closed. The reports that I give hereafter, with the exception of those about Cumberland, which I have seen for myself, are those that I have received from persons whom I believe to be well informed, and necessarily I am but their echo. That which I can assure you is that I have taken the greatest care to have the most reliable news.

[48]Now Louisville, Ky.

Cumberland is on the River Chawarnon, vulgarly called by the name of the Settlement. There are about 40 souls, 20 able to bear arms which are the rifle, used by them with great skill, being for the great part hunters, and Peltry the greater part of their commerce. Thus obliged like all the others of whom I shall speak, to establish themselves by force of arms on these lands that have scarcely been abandoned by the Indians, their life is quite laborious and hard. They are large, well built and robust, as are people who come from the North: the climate is a little colder than in Natchez: the only cultivation that they care for is Tobacco, and Corn. They put up the first in Plugs [*Andullos*] which they send to Illinois, and receive in return liquors and some eatables. This kind of commerce is not considerable, but as the land is suitable to the cultivation of this plant, there would be a great quantity if means could be found for sending it out, making them greatly desire the free navigation of the River, which they believe cannot be denied them, being assured that in a short time they will be in possession of Natchez. They expect 100 to 150 Families this spring.

As soon as new inhabitants come to settle, five or six families unite and build a large stockade, to contain the necessary cabins to live in, and cultivate together a Field of Corn etc. Ordinarily they look for lands three or four miles from the last Settlement, in order to have pasture for the animals: they make the greater part of their clothes, or [illegible]. Those of the men consist of heavy skins, and the women dress in clothes made of cotton, or hemp that they cultivate. They send out the greater part of their merchandise by the falls

The Cumberland River empties into the Ohio about 200 miles from the town they have begun, which is at present a small thing; but it may increase much because of its location, and because the River passing it is navigable during high water by the largest Boats [*Lanchones*]. The water usually rises in November and remains until March, more or less. Even when it is low navigation is possible with difficulty in spite of the rapids, in canoes made in [part of huge casks?]. There is no other artillery than two four-pounder cannon and they are not mounted. Between this River and the Chickasaws there is another called Cherokee which is navigable for 200 leagues during high water. In low water it is impractical because of some 30 miles of shallows called Muscle Shoals. At the source of this River there is a branch called Holston which gives the name to a Settlement, which acording to the reports of some persons is considerable—like Kentucky, which is located between Cumberland and the Falls, and where there are 25 to 30 thousand souls. Wheat is cultivated in that place, although in small quantity, the land being very new. Like the Cumberland, they sow tobacco, Corn, Hemp, cotton, all of which that is not consumed is exported by the Falls from where necessities are likewise received.

The Falls is a settlement on the Ohio which from the Trade it has with the said places, is, or ought to be more important in proportion to the advantages it derives from what is needed from Fort Pitt by water, which is the reason that merchandise is found at as good a price as in New Orleans. There

is a stockade fort with a [6 pounder?] cannon, and a Garrison of 30 men more or less.

Fort Pitt is the most important of all the Posts I have mentioned, being the place from which the others derive their advantages, and the place to which they carry their richest products, having in addition to this the advantage of being at the junction of the Monongahela and the Allegheny which at that place takes the name of Ohio. On the two rivers a quantity of wheat is sown which is taken to Fort Pitt, a regularly constructed Fort whose flanks are bathed by the two rivers. There is a battery of canon of at least 12 [pounds], and a garrison of 500 men. There are in the Arsenal two 24-pounder cannon that, according to reports, were carried there some time ago to be placed in a *Galera* that General Clark had constructed to use against the Indians, which exists today, but in what condition I do not know: I am assured that it has never been used. The Leader of that region is General Clark, who at present is in Congress; and it is said that troops are being raised, enlistment beginning at the age of 21 years, for the purpose of checking once for all the Indians of the Ohio. Reenforcements are being made at the last two Forts, favoring in this way the settlements they want to make on that River. It is true that the Indians have committed some murders in these places. The merchandise at Fort Pitt is cheaper than in New Orleans, although carried from Philadelphia which is 120 leagues from the Strait [*del Estrecho*].[49]

It would be useless to tell you anything about the Vincennes Post which is on the Wabash River, from which you have news daily. I have the honor to repeat to you that with the exception of what I told you about Cumberland I cannot be certain of anything, not having been in those places.

I enclose the letter about all of Ohio in the larger sense of the word, and a Letter of Mr. Green's that I intercepted of which I told you above.—I have the honor to remain with all respect Sir your most humble and obedient servant.—Luis Chacheré—Señor Don Francisco Bouligny—

Miró

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 21, 1785[50]

Included in Your Letter No. 100 I received that of Don Luis Chacheré in which he gave a detailed account of his journey, the original letter of Green, a Map of the Ohio River, and some Gazettes from North Carolina.

Although I can look upon Green as a fugitive resident of Natchez, in which capacity his letter having been intercepted matters not, I do not think you would have given the order to Chacheré for this act which might be looked upon as one of hostility; in whichever case he intercepted it, it was only for his own convenience and not because he was ordered to do so by the Government.

Nevertheless the journey of Chacheré has been useful, and if he is con-

[49]Probably Detroit.
[50]A.G.I., P.C., 3.

tent with the two hundred *pesos* that he took away, tell him to write out a receipt for it, as the remuneration which is given him for the said journey, which you will send me with your approval. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 21, 1785[51]

No. 129

I am informed by your letter no. 120 of what the Mestizo Robert Thompson has related to you, and as what he says corroborates what Alexander McGillivray has represented in his Memorial to the King in the name of the Chickasaw Nation, that of the Cherokees, and of his own the Talapuches, I have sent a Copy of the letter to Their Excellencies the Minister of the Indies and the Conde de Gálvez, asking them to tell me, in case the Chickasaws ask to move West of the Mississippi, whether or not I may grant it. With this information you will reply to them on this point, in case the Chiefs come and speak of it, that although the Spanish Government is very much disposed to please them a definite decision cannot be given them, but that you will propose the matter to me and that you will let them know my decision. Meanwhile permit them to send and reconnoitre the land if they wish, to which end you will give them a letter for the Commandant of Arkansas with my order, copying this paragraph, so that he will help them and show them where they may settle, and send the same to the Commandant of Ouachita if they should prefer the banks of that River.

As to the request that we stop the going and coming of the outlaws, in order that you may give them more hope, I enclose a copy of the Memorial of McGillivray, of which you will inform them, telling them that I have written to His Majesty and to his envoy in Philadelphia to get Congress to give orders for the Americans to abstain from molesting them in the Hunt, and that after the boundaries are agreed upon and surveyed I shall decide on the manner in which they are to force the said outlaws to retire, and that as soon as they help as they should, being under the protection of our Sovereign, the outlaws will be gotten out without going to the extremity of destroying them or doing them any harm.

Estevan Miró.*

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny

[51] *Ibid.*, 2352.

*The second installment of these *Papers* will appear in No. 10 of the *Publications*.

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——. Gold key unlocks TVA power. (Lit. digest. Mr 14 '36. v. 121: 7)

——. Morgan, A. E. Log of the TVA. New York, Survey associates [1936] 43 p. illus., ports., maps. (Reprinted from the Survey graphic) [Same as Benchmarks of the TVA]

——. Odum, H. W. Southern regions of the United States. Chapel Hill, N. C., Univ. of N. C. press, 1936. xi, 664 p. maps, charts, tables. [See Index for Tennessee valley]
——. Reeves, F. W. Adult education as related to the Tennessee valley authority. (Sch. & soc. Ag 29 '36. v. 44:257-266)
——. Supreme court upholds TVA. illus., maps. (Scholastic. Mr 7 '36. v. 28:18-19, 22)
——. Taylor, A. W. TVA progress still threatened. (Christian cent. S 9 '36. v. 53:1203-1204)
Terral, Rufus. Newell Sanders; a biography. (Kingsport, Tenn.) Priv. print. [Kingsport press, inc.] 1935. xvii., 310 p. front., plates, ports
Territory south of the river Ohio. See U. S. Department of state.
Towles, Susan Starling. The three Transylvania towns, Boonesborough, Nashville and Henderson. (Ky. state hist. soc. Reg. Ja '36. v. 34:76-80)
U. S. Department of state. The territorial papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1936. (v. 4: *The Territory south of the river Ohio, 1790-1796.* 517 p.)
Warner, James H. Our amazing ancestors. (So. Atlan. qr. Ja '36. v. 35: 62-73)
WASHINGTON COLLEGE. (So. mag. Jl '36. v. 3:17-20, 41-42)
WAYNE COUNTY. Houston, M. L., comp. Wayne county census, 1820 (Tennessee census reports)
Webb, William S. The prehistory of East Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. 1936. no. 8:3-8)
White, Robert Hiram. Tennessee, its growth and progress. Nashville, Tenn., author, 1936. ix, 709 p. illus., ports., col. plates (incl. front), charts, facsims., maps (1 col.) [A school history]
WHITE COUNTY. Houston, M. L., comp. White county census, 1820. (Tennessee census reports)
——. Seals, Monroe. History of White county, Tenn. n.p., 1935. 152 p.
Whitley, Mrs. Edythe Johns Rucker. Tennessee genealogical records. 1936. v. 8 & 9.
WILDER. Williams, S. C. General John T. Wilder, commander of the Lightning brigade. Bloomington, Ind., Indiana univ. press, 1936. viii, 105 p. ports., map.
Williams, Samuel Cole. General John T. Wilder, commander of the Lightning brigade. Bloomington, Ind., Indiana univ. press, 1936. viii, 105 p. ports., map.
——. Stephen Holston and Holston river. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. 1936. no. 8:26-34)
Williams, Samuel Cole, ed., see Deaderick, David Anderson.
WILLIAMSON COUNTY. Houston, M. L., comp. Williamson county census, 1820. (Tennessee census reports)
WILSON COUNTY. Houston, M. L., comp. Wilson county census, 1820. (Tennessee census reports)
WOODBURY. Brown, S. S. History of Woodbury and Cannon county, Tenn. Manchester, Tenn., Press of the Doak printing co., 1936. 235 p. illus., ports.

Unpublished Master's Theses, 1936

University of Tennessee

Anderson, Paul Fain. The history of educational development in Sullivan county, Tennessee.
Battaglia, Joseph Charles. The social and economic history of Maryville since 1890.
Bible, Mary Ozelle. The post-presidential career of Andrew Johnson.
Butler, Margaret. The life of John C. Brown.
Chase, Lewis I. Changes in social and economic status of the people of Sullivan county for a thirty year period.
Durham, Gertrude. Public education in Tennessee during the reconstruction period.
Hall, William Franklin. The history of Carson-Newman college.
Neskang, Selmer R. Agricultural and social aspects of the Swiss settlement in Grundy county, Tennessee.
Smith, Frank P. Military campaigns in East Tennessee, 1861-1865.

Vanderbilt University

Chappell, G. T. Land speculation and taxation in Tennessee, 1790-1834.
King, M. B., Jr. A study of citizens' information and social problems in Nashville.
McCorkle, C. H. Taxation in Tennessee.
Millspaugh, Kathryn G. Notes on early Nashville newspapers, 1797-1850.
Mooney, C. C. Slavery in Davidson county, Tennessee.
Peeler, Elizabeth H. The policies of Willie Blount as governor of Tennessee, 1809-1815.
Powell, J. L. A comparative analysis of official juvenile delinquency cases in Nashville.

Unpublished Doctoral Dissertations, 1936

Davenport, F. G. Cultural life in Nashville on the eve of the civil war. (Vanderbilt university)

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. IV, *The Territory South of the River Ohio, 1790-1796.* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1936. ix + 517 pp. $1.75.)

"This volume embodies the official papers of the Territory South of the River Ohio, 1790-96, which was created out of the State of North Carolina and from which originated the State of Tennessee. Among the general features of the volume may be noted (1) the circumstances of the origin of the territory; (2) the unique character of the land system; (3) the constant state of war between settlers and Indians; (4) the beginnings of the Indian policy of the United States; (5) the creation of local government; and (6) the establishment of post roads and the extension of the postal system to distant frontier settlements within the territory. . . .

"Noteworthy names of persons who figured prominently in the affairs of the territory are William Blount, who served as Governor throughout the period, Secretary Daniel Smith, General John Sevier, and Dr. James White, territorial delegate in Congress and grandfather of Chief Justice Edward Douglas White. There are also recorded the early activities of Andrew Jackson, whose first appearances in public life are described in this volume. . . ." (Press Release.)

"The papers in the present volume are in general arranged in chronological sequence, without regard to their character; the exceptions are enclosures which are usually placed with the covering letters, and the Journal of Proceedings [of Governor Blount] which is preserved intact and printed as one section of the volume. . . ." (Preface.) The preceding sections deal with the periods 1789-1790, 1791-1792, 1792-1793, and 1794-1796, respectively.

The work is replete with explanatory notes and contains an exhaustive index.

Tennessee its Growth and Progress. By Robert H. White. (Nashville: Robert H. White, Publisher, 1936. vi + 709 pp. $1.25.)

This is a textbook designed for use in the upper elementary grades. As stated in the Preface, "This book has been written for children. For that rea-

son, a simple narrative account of important activities connected with the development of Tennessee has been given. Discussions of intricate, isolated, unimportant, or controversial events have been largely eliminated. . . .

"Emphasis has been placed upon the life and the activities of the people as a whole, as a result of which Tennessee has made progress throughout its existence. War and politics, though important, are too intricate and too controversial for extended treatment for young children. Agriculture, education, health, religion, transportation, commerce and industry, as well as other activities—these are the real agencies through which a proud Commonwealth has been builded."

This work is divided into six parts: The Beginnings of Tennessee; Economic Development of Tennessee; Social Development of Tennessee; Political Development of Tennessee; Tennessee's Place in the Making of the Nation; and Developments of Special Interest to Tennesseans. Within these parts it is divided into thirteen units: I. First People to Live in the Country that became Tennessee; II. Early Pioneer Life in the Country now called Tennessee; III. Tennessee under Different Names and Governments; IV. Growth of Important Occupations; V. Natural Resources of Tennessee; VI. Three Fundamentals; VII. The Negro in Tennessee; VIII. Care of the Handicapped; IX. The Growth of Government; X. Services Performed by Our Governors; XI. Tennessee's Part in War; XII. Tennessee's Part in Peace; XIII. Some Tennessee "Firsts."

The Appendix is divided into four parts: Constitution of Tennessee, 1870; Governors of Tennessee; Counties of Tennessee; and Official Register.

The work is amply illustrated and contains numerous suggested readings and exercises and an index.

Discovering Tennessee. By Mary U. Rothrock. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. viii + 498 pp. 77c.)

"This Book is designed to introduce to children of elementary school age in Tennessee the broad subjects of history, geography, and civics, through the study of their own state and its growth. The specific phases of Tennessee's history—its exploration, settlement, and expansion—are pictured as parts of those larger movements which comprise the history of the nation. The particular aims of the author have been:

"First, to tell Tennessee's story accurately and in its proper relationship to that of the nation as a whole.

"Second, to make it vivid and interesting to boys and girls in the elementary grades.

"Third, to present basic social science materials which will be needed for later, more detailed study.

"Fourth, to stimulate pupils to voluntary, wide reading and independent study; to give them experience in working together; and to make the text more vivid by manual activities, and

"Fifth, to provide teachers with liberal aids, in the activities and suggested readings, for making this book an effective tool in the classroom.

"A special effort has been made to adapt both the text and the activities to the needs of all types of schools. The activities have been tested carefully in the schoolroom." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. A Map of Tennessee; II. The First Tennesseans: The Indians; III. The First Settlers; IV. Living with one another; V. The Story of Farmers and Farming; VI. Hidden Treasures; VII. The Story of Manufacturing; VIII. Travel in Tennessee; IX. Growth of the Cities; X. Conservation in Tennessee; XI. The State of Tennessee; XII. Partners with Uncle Sam.

The Constitution of Tennessee is printed as an appendix, and the work includes a list of suggested readings, an index, and a large number of illustrations.

History of Homes and Gardens of Tennessee. Compiled by the Garden Study Club of Nashville—Edited by Roberta Seawell Brandau. (Nashville: Published for the Garden Study Club of Nashville by the Parthenon Press, 1936. 503 pp. $10.00.)

"It was the judgment of the Garden Study Club that the book should not only be a history of the past, but a living record of the present. The scenic beauty of the state, its mountains, valleys and lowlands, its prodigality of native flowers, trees, shrubs, and grasses provided settings of unsurpassed loveliness. Tennessee gardens of today not only are recording a history in the making, but the far-sweeping development of the garden spirit throughout the state has found expression in the creation of gardens of such beauty and charm as to entitle them to a place in this volume.

"In keeping with the spirit of the book, it seemed fitting to avoid architectural descriptions of the old houses, and to employ the simpler terms used by their builders. In the same manner, to discard botanical nomenclature as far as possible, and to preserve the delightful old names of flowers, shrubs, and trees familiar to those who planned and planted those gardens of long ago." (Foreword.)

The book first gives a historical background of houses, gardens, and the state as a whole; then it gives a section entitled "Natural Settings for Tennessee Gardens."

Part one discusses and gives pictures of about 190 old homes and gardens of the different counties of East, Middle and West Tennessee.

Part two discusses and illustrates about 105 modern homes and gardens of the different counties of the same.

Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy. By William Wade Hinshaw. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1936. Vol. 1, North Carolina. xv + 1185 pp. $20.00.)

This volume is said to contain every item of genealogical value found in all "Records and Minutes of the Thirty-three oldest Monthly Meetings which belong, or ever belonged, to the North Carolina Yearly meeting of Friends." Only the last three "Monthly Meetings" included (pp. 1077-1165)—New Hope, Lost Creek, and Newbery—were located in the Tennessee country;

but many of the names listed elsewhere in the volume are of persons who eventually moved to Tennessee.

The Cherokees of the Smoky Mountains. By Horace Kephart. (Ithaca, New York: Privately printed, 1936. 36 pp. 50c.)

"In the southwestern corner of North Carolina is a band of Cherokee Indians. By a strange streak of fate, they alone, of a once powerful tribe, have been left in possession of a fragment of their ancient realm. They hold what is known as the Qualla boundary, about ninety square miles of rough country on the southerly slope of the Great Smoky Mountains. From time immemorial this natural fastness has been a refuge of their people in case of disaster." (p. 3.)

This study is a brief, popular account of the forcible removal of Cherokee Indians from their historic home in Georgia and East Tennessee to the region west of the Mississippi River and an explanation of how a small group of these Indians escaped removal by taking refuge in the Smoky Mountains, and were later established upon what is now called the Qualla Reservation.

The work is illustrated, and contains a map of the Cherokee country; but it is not documented and includes neither a bibliography nor an index.

Cherokee Messenger. By Althea Bass. (Norman: University of Oklahoma press, 1936. 348 pp. $3.00.)

This is a well-documented study of the missionary work of Samuel Austin Worcester and other representatives of the Congregational Church among the Cherokee Indians, both while they resided in Georgia and in the adjoining corners of East Tennessee and North Carolina and after they had been removed to their present home in Oklahoma. It is based largely upon the manuscript collection owned by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and how housed in the Andover-Harvard Library at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Of especial interest to Tennesseeans is the description of the work done at the Brainerd Mission, which was located in the vicinity of present day Chattanooga.

Included are eight illustrations, numerous extracts from the documents used, and an index.

General Jackson's Lady: A Story of the Life and Times of Rachel Donelson Jackson, Beloved Wife of General Andrew Jackson, Seventh President of the United States. By Mary French Caldwell. (Nashville, Tennessee: Published by the Author, December, 1936. 555 pp. $3.50.)

"Entirely apart from the fact that she was the wife of a great man—and that man such a dynamic and romantic figure as Andrew Jackson—Rachel Jackson's story is significant, interesting, and well worth the telling. Seldom has a woman so reflected in her own personal life the history of an era. A simple record of its happenings contains all of the elements necessary for a great story, were its facts related only to some humble bystander who happened to be within the sphere of activity during the Jackson period. When,

however, they are clothed with the glamour and importance which her proximity to the person about whom this activity centered, and upon whom most of it was entirely dependent, they acquire an even greater historical significance." (Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. General Jackson's Lady; II. Stories for a small Girl; III. Adventure; IV. Kentucky; V. The Cumberland Again; VI. Natchez; VII. Poplar Grove and Hunter's Hill; VIII. Cargoes from Philadelphia; IX. The Hermitage; X. War; XI. New Orleans; XII. The New Hermitage; XIII. Pensacola and Washington; XIV. An Empty Victory.

The work is well documented, and contains an appendix, eight illustrations, and an index, but no separate bibliography.

History of Coffee County, Tennessee. Written and Edited by Leighton Ewell. Manchester, Tenn.: Doak Printing Co., 1936. 85 pp.)

This work was proposed in connection with the centennial celebration held in Manchester in May, 1936, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Coffee county. It is dedicated to the memory of General John Coffee, for whom the county was named.

It contains brief discussions of the establishment of the county, lists of names of county officials, soldiers and distinguished citizens, and brief sketches of the more important towns, and of schools and churches, and of several of the more prominent members of the community. It is not documented, does not pretend to be exhaustive, and contains no bibliography or index.

History of Woodbury and Cannon County, Tennessee. By Sterling Spurlock Brown. (Manchester, Tennessee: Doak Printing Company, 1936. 235 pp.)

This work was prepared with a view to promoting a centennial anniversary and homecoming in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Woodbury and Cannon county. The chapters are entitled: I. Early Days in Tennessee County; II. Organization of Cannon County; III. The First Settlers; IV. Woodbury; V. Public Officers of Cannon County; VI. Military Annals.

Included are records of churches, schools, lodges, newspapers, and marriages. The last half of the book is made up of brief biographical sketches.

A Pioneer Southern Railroad from New Orleans to Cairo. By Thomas D. Clark. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 171 pp. $2.00.)

"There has been an age old argument as to whether the railroads were built to supplement or to compete with the rivers. Perhaps there is no better example of a railroad being built parallel to the rivers than the southern branches of the Illinois Central System. Here the roads which now compose this system were built parallel to the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Cairo, Illinois. The question was not one of building a railroad to assist the river with its burden of commerce, but to free New Orleans of the danger of becoming a victim of slow-moving river triffic. The one thought upper-

most in the minds of all the friends of the railroad in this southern territory was to reach the grain and livestock supply of the Northwest as quickly as possible." (Introduction.)

Several of the roads discussed were located at least in part in Tennessee: The Mississippi and Tennessee, from Granada to Memphis; the Mississippi Central and Tennessee, from the Mississippi line to Jackson, Tennessee; and the "Cairo Extension," from Jackson to Cairo, Illinois. Also, the original intention of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company, as well as of its predecessor, the New Orleans and Nashville, was to build to Nashville, Tennessee.

The work contains a map, six illustrations, two appendices, footnotes and an index, but no separate bibliography.

General John T. Wilder, Commander of the Lightning Brigade. By Samuel C. Williams. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1936. 105 pp. $1.50.)

"General Wilder's career as a soldier, and as an industrialist, particularly in the South in the decades following the Civil War, seemed to justify a fairly adequate biography. In its preparation a study was made of the campaigns and battles of the Civil War in which Wilder engaged in order to give the setting of his military activities. No single brigade of that war earned such renown as did Wilder's Lightning Brigade." (Preface.)

About fifty pages of the work are devoted to a well documented sketch of General Wilder and the remainder to appendices and a brief bibliography. Greater emphasis is placed upon his military career than upon his life as business leader in East Tennessee during the post-war years.

Newell Sanders, A Biography. By Rufus Terral. (Chattanooga: Privately printed, 1935. ix + 310 pp.)

"This book is intended primarily to be a memorial volume for the family and friends of its subject; and secondarily a brief record of some few of the significant moments in Tennessee history during the quarter of a century starting in 1894 for all who may be interested.

"A considerable amount of material has been drawn from rough memoirs jotted down by Mr. Sanders. These notes deal principally with his boyhood life, and have been rearranged and somewhat rephrased, with very little other change, for the second, third and fourth chapters.

"The account of the Evans-Turney contest was drawn for the most part from summaries of the pleadings and reports and from addresses and papers by the principals, with the addition of excerpts from a critical monograph written long afterward by Lewis Shepherd, who was a member of Evans' counsel.

"Frequent reference has been made to the files of the Nashville Banner and the Chattanooga Times, which furnished nearly all the material on the mob convention and much of the supporting data for several other chapters.

"Mr. Sanders' business life has been treated in far less detail than his political life largely because information regarding it was in general to be obtained only from his recollection and was not at length." (Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Glimpses; II. Ancestry; III. Childhood; IV. College; V. The Chattanooga Plow Company; VI. The River; VII. The Newell Sanders Plow Company; VIII. Royalty; IX. Final Furrows; X. Politics Begins; XI. The Evans-Turney Contest; XII. The Farce is Ended; XIII. 1896-1907; XIV. The Mob Convention; XV. State-wide Prohibition; XVI. Fusion; XVII. Filibuster; XVIII. Senator; XIX. The Interstate Bill; XX. Woman Suffrage; XXI. Tennessee for Harding; XXII. Senate Campaign; XXXIII. Doctor of Laws; XXIV. Sanders Said.

Included are six appendices, thirty illustrations, an index of names and a genealogy of the family. Although based upon documentary research, the work has neither a bibliography nor footnotes.

NOTES AND NEWS*

At the Society's annual banquet held at Hotel Andrew Johnson October 10, the guest speaker, Dr. William K. Boyd, head of the department of history, Duke University, delivered an address, "Some Divergencies in Southern Politics and Culture." As this was also the occasion of the celebration of the 145th anniversary of the founding of Knoxville by James White, and the 150th anniversary of White's settlement upon the site of Knoxville, James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, gave an historical sketch of the arrival of James White in 1786, and of the founding of Knoxville, October 3, 1791. Mrs. Amanda White McTeer, oldest living descendant of General James White, was an honor guest. Relics of the early days of the city were on display.

For the second time the Calvin M. McClung Award was presented to A. C. Hutson, Jr. His contribution to *Publications,* number 8, was "The Overthrow of the Convict Lease System in Tennessee." Professors Kathleen Bruce, regional director, Survey of Federal Archives; Avery O. Craven, of the University of Chicago; and Paul C. Phillips, of the University of Montana, were judges of the contest.

At the December meeting of the Society officers for 1937 were elected as follows: Culver H. Smith, Chattanooga, president; Miss Zella Armstrong, Chattanooga, Samuel C. Williams, Johnson City, and J. B. Sanders, Knoxville, vice-presidents; A. C. Hutson, Jr., treasurer; Miss Laura E. Luttrell, secretary; Miss Mary E. Baker, member of the executive committee; S. J. Folmsbee, managing editor; W. Neil Franklin and W. B. Hesseltine, members of the board of editors.

A meeting of the Society was held in Chattanooga, November 7. Following a dinner arranged by the Chattanooga members of the Society with Miss Zella Armstrong as chairman, assisted by the Chattanooga Woman's Press Club, Mr. Cecil Holland, of the editorial staff of the Chattanooga *News*, gave an address, "Bandit or Great Leader; New Light on General John H. Morgan." Mr. Gilbert E. Govan led the discussion and Mr. Charles Coffey and Colonel W. N. Nixon gave brief talks on Morgan's activities in East Tennessee.

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*Compiled by the secretary of the Society, Miss Laura E. Luttrell. Unless otherwise indicated all dates refer to 1936.

The Southern Historical Association, together with the Tennessee Historical Society and the East Tennessee Historical Society, held its second annual meeting in Nashville, Nov. 19-21. Dr. P. M. Hamer, former president of the East Tennessee Historical Society, is vice-president.

At the Tennessee history session on the evening of the 19th, Judge John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, presided. Papers read were: "The Influence of State Leaders on Tennessee Sectionalism, 1796-1861," by Mary Swan Carroll; "State Aid to Turnpike Construction in Tennessee, 1830-1860," by Stanley J. Folmsbee; "Isaac Franklin, Tennessee Planter and Slave Trader," by Wendell H. Stephenson; "Tennessee's Attitude Toward Impeachment of Andrew Johnson," by James W. Patton. At the luncheon conference on materials for research, T. D. Clark and P. M. Hamer were discussion leaders. Saturday morning at the section on some aspects of southern history, Culver H. Smith, president of the East Tennessee Historical Society, read a paper, "Ante-bellum Southern Newspapers."

Of interest to Tennesseans were the following papers given at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in Austin, Texas, April 16-18: "General Edmund P. Gaines and the Protection of the Southwestern Frontiers," by James W. Silver, Southwestern College; "The South and Problems of Post-war Finance," by George L. Anderson, Colorado College; and "The Texas Revolution," by William C. Binkley, Vanderbilt University.

The Tennessee Folklore Society held its third annual meeting at Maryville College, November 14. The officers elected were: T. J. Farr, president; L. L. McDowell, E. G. Rogers and Urban Anderson, vice-presidents; E. R. Hunter, secretary; Geneva Anderson, treasurer. This society issues a quarterly bulletin.

Colonel Fay W. Brabson, life member of this Society, has been appointed to the post of Chief of Intelligence of the United States Army.

Professor Carl S. Driver of Vanderbilt University, one of the Society's sustaining members, died at Nashville, March 23. He was author of a biography of John Sevier, contributed a number of biographical sketches of Tennesseans for the Dictionary of American Biography, and was engaged in historical research.

W. Neil Franklin, of the University of Tennessee, was appointed in June to the National Archives as special examiner.

Edmund C. Gass was appointed instructor in history and political science at the University of Tennessee.

Philip M. Hamer, of the National Archives, was appointed chief of the library division.

Miss Helen Harris, librarian of the Lawson McGhee Library, was elected president of the Knoxville-Knox County council of adult education.

Mrs. Irene Kuhn Heiskell, widow of Samuel G. Heiskell, Tennessee historian and four times mayor of Knoxville, died June 23. Mrs. Heiskell was a former librarian of the Tennessee State Library, and a member of this Society. She was active in political, civic, patriotic and church work.

Daniel M. Robison was appointed assistant professor of history at Vanderbilt University.

Culver H. Smith, president of this Society and head of the history department of the University of Chattanooga, was selected by the Council of Learned Societies to compile an historical guide to the opinion-forming press of the United States.

John Blair, of Loudon, criminal judge of the fourth judicial circuit since 1925, died November 14. He was succeeded by Sue K. Hicks of Madisonville.

H. Woodruff Booth, after forty-two years in the postal service, was appointed postmaster at Knoxville, succeeding John J. Graham.

Gordon Browning, representative from the eighth Tennessee district to the 68th-73rd Congresses, was elected governor of the State of Tennessee in November, succeeding Hill McAlister.

Professor Charles Sidney Burwell of Vanderbilt University school of medicine, Nashville, was appointed dean of the faculty of medicine of Harvard University.

Joseph Wellington Byrns, speaker of the House of Representatives, died June 4 in Washington, D. C. His funeral service, conducted by Dr. W. F. Powell, was held in Nashville at the War Memorial Building.

Dancey Fort, of Clarksville, former state commissioner of finance and taxation, was appointed judge of the ninth judicial circuit of the state by Governor McAlister. He succeeded J. D. Q. Morton of Gallatin, who died October 15.

Harvey Horatio Hannah, for thirty years a member of the State railroad and public utilities commission, died November 7 at his home at Oliver Springs. He received a degree from the University of Tennessee in 1891, and was a lieutenant-colonel in the War with Spain.

Mrs. Ruth O'Dell, Republican, of Newport, was elected to represent Cocke county in the state legislature. She is the second woman to serve in the Tennessee legislature. The first was Mrs. Annie Lee Worley, widow of Senator J. Parks Worley, who succeeded her husband and served during the session of 1921.

B. Kirk Rankin, for thirty years publisher of the *Southern Agriculturist,* died December 8 at his home in Nashville.

Fred C. Smith, formerly of Harvard University, was elected dean of the graduate school of the University of Tennessee, and came to his new post in September.

Judge Charles Edward Snodgrass, former congressman and former member of the state Court of Appeals, died August 9 at his home in Crossville. He was a native of Sparta.

Charles A. Willson, dean of the University of Tennessee college of agriculture, died October 13.

Samuel H. Wilson, one of the original colonists of Rugby, Morgan county, died August 24. He was born in England in 1860, and in 1880 came with others to form the Rugby colony founded by Thomas Hughes. He was postmaster and weather observer from 1919 to 1933. He was buried from Christ Church in Rugby cemetery near the grave of Madame Margaret E. Hughes, mother of Thomas Hughes. Only two of the original colonists survive Mr. Wilson.

The 140th anniversary of the founding of the First Presbyterian Church of Knoxville and the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the Presbyterian church of the United States (south) were celebrated, December 2, by an historical address by Rev. E. B. McGukin, pastor, by the presentation of an historical pageant, and by an exhibit of relics, portraits and manuscripts. The pageant was written by Miss Rosa Scott. The church was founded by Rev. Samuel Carrick. Among its distinguished pastors was Dr. James Park, who served for more than forty years.

The Eusebia Presbyterian Church of Blount county celebrated its sesqui-centennial, October 25, by dedicating a new brick church building. Rev. Edwin W. Hall, pastor; Rev. J. M. Alexander and Rev. T. J. Miles assisted in the services. The anniversary sermon was preached by Ralph W. Lloyd, president of Maryville College. Judge Samuel O. Houston had charge of the program and, in the afternoon, talks were made by Rev. E. W. Hall, Rev. R. L. Houston, and Rev. W. B. Malcolm. The church was founded by Rev. Archibald Scott in 1786. Rev. Gideon Blackburn was the first regular pastor.

The Fourth Presbyterian Church of Knoxville celebrated its fiftieth anniversary November 8. As part of the ceremonies the speakers gave a history of the pastors and their ministeries. Mrs. E. E. Patton compiled a history of the church and its various activities. It was illustrated by portraits of the four living charter members and the four ministers who have served. Rev. John S. Eakin is the present pastor.

The Presbyterian Church of LaFayette, Macon county, celebrated its centennial in August. Like many other churches it was used as a hospital during the Civil War. Rev. Taylor Morton is the pastor.

The New Providence Presbyterian Church, Maryville, celebrated its sesqui-centennial on Sunday, June 28. Dr. Joseph M. Broady, pastor of the Sixth Avenue Church, Birmingham, Alabama, preached the anniversary sermon. The church was founded by Rev. Archibald Scott.

The Shannondale Presbyterian Church, Knox county, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, Nov. 15-16, with a homecoming for former pastors and members. Dr. Ralph W. Lloyd, president of Maryville College, delivered the sermon. Mr. James M. Crawford, oldest of the charter members, reviewed the church history. Dr. W. P. Stevenson is the pastor.

The Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, completed its fiftieth year of service October 29. The library was a gift to the people by Colonel Charles M. McGhee as a memorial to his deceased daughter, Mrs. May Lawson McGhee Williams. The first librarian was Dr. Thomas W. Humes, author of *Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee,* rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, and one time president of the University of Tennessee. Judge John W. Green, one of the original library board members, is yet serving on the board. Miss Mary U. Rothrock, librarian, 1916-1934, contributed a history of the library to the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* of November 1.

To celebrate the 140th anniversary of the admission of Tennessee into the Union, the Bonny Kate chapter, and the James White chapter, of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the Sons of the Revolution; and the Children of the Revolution of Knoxville sponsored a patriotic program June 1, at Hotel Andrew Johnson. Dr. Robert H. White of Nashville was the speaker.

The sesqui-centennial of the birth of David Crockett was celebrated at Greeneville, August 15-16, by a pageant depicting the important events of the life of this hero of Tennessee and Texas who was born at Limestone about fifteen miles north of Greeneville. Governor Hill McAlister spoke at the banquet which was the closing feature of the anniversary.

In March, Lawrenceburg paid special tribute to the memory of David Crockett upon the anniversary of the battle of the Alamo in which Crockett gave his life for Texas. In 1922, a life-size bronze statue of Crockett had been placed upon the public square. Crockett was the town's first commissioner, justice of the peace and a representative in 1821 in the state legislature from Lawrence and Hickman counties.

Dr. Charles Edgar Little, who had been a member of Peabody College faculty for fifty years, was honored at the Founder's Day ceremonies, February 19-20. The speakers included a number of prominent educators.

Bradley county celebrated its centennial on Armistice Day, November 11, at Cleveland. Following a parade featuring the progress of the county from the days of exploration and settlement to the present time, Major F. Corn, city judge, reviewed the history of the county. During the year the schools of the county had had exercises featuring local history. Rev. John M. Wooten, official historian of the county, contributed to the Chattanooga *Times,* Feb. 9, a sketch, "Historic Bradley County Celebrates 100 Years of Existence," and to the issue of May 10, "Early Education in Bradley."

Cannon county's centennial was celebrated, August 21, at Woodbury. Sterling S. Brown, chairman of the executive committee in charge of the celebration, was appointed by the historical committee to write a history of the county as a contribution to the centennial.

At Manchester, May 23-29, Coffee county celebrated its centennial. Special features were a parade; a pageant, "A Flood of Years," written and directed by Miss Vaughan; a pageant by the city of Tullahoma; and the unveiling of a portrait of General John Coffee, for whom the county was named, at which addresses were made by Judge John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, and Judge Joseph Higgins. Other notable speakers during the week's celebration were Clifford Davis, vice-mayor of Memphis; Judge Robert L. Keele; Governor Hill McAlister; Walter D. Cocking and Judge Camille Kelley, of Memphis. A history of the county was written by Leighton Ewell.

The sesqui-centennial of Hawkins county and Rogersville was celebrated December 11. A parade, sponsored by the Rotary Club and directed by Carl B. Lyle, showed in successive scenes the development of the town and county from pioneer days to the present. A pageant, written by Mrs. Alton, was presented at the high school auditorium by the Nautilus Club and the Masqueraders. The Rogersville *Review* issued a special sesqui-centennial number, November 26, which contained "Early History of Hawkins County," by Prentice Price; also other local history features.

Meigs county, named in honor of Return J. Meigs, Indian agent to the Cherokee Indians, celebrated its centennial this year at Decatur. J. W. Lillard was president of the centennial association and T. J. Campbell, historian. An historical sketch of the county, by Zella Armstrong, appeared in the Chattanooga *Times,* of January 19, and one by T. J. Campbell in the Knoxville *Journal,* of June 22.

A monument to the World War veterans of Bedford county was unveiled at Shelbyville, November 11, as a feature of the Armistice Day program.

A portrait of John Crozier, postmaster of Knoxville, 1798-1838, was unveiled in the office of Postmaster Woodruff Booth, May 28. Miss Eleanor Wiley painted the portrait from the miniature owned by Miss Mary Crozier, granddaughter, who presented the portrait to the post-office.

A marker at "Cloverbottom," the home of Colonel John Donelson in 1780 was placed by the Cumberland Chapter, D. A. R., of Nashville. A marker was placed also at the race track of Andrew Jackson. Mrs. Becker, president general of the D. A. R., accepted the marker during the state conference held November 5, 6 and 7.

The site of Fort Dickerson is to be restored as a WPA project and a city park will be developed in connection with it. The road survey is under the direction of Major Richeson Love, military engineer. This fort was an important federal fortification during the siege of Knoxville, 1863.

The Mary Blount Chapter, D. A. R., of Maryville unveiled a marker, September 27, on the site of old Fort McTeer, near Prospect.

A marker to commemorate Southwest Point, a military post of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, was unveiled at Kingston, May 12. The Southwest Point Chapter, D. A. R., at Harriman, erected the marker which was presented to the state by Mrs. Allen Harris of Johnson City, state regent, and accepted by Hammond Fowler, state senator. Mrs. W. C. Anderson, regent of the chapter, was in charge of the ceremonies.

Governor Hill McAlister dedicated an 11,000 acre state park and forest in Pickett and Fentress counties July 4. It will be known as Pickett Forest.

Dr. William S. Webb, archaeologist of the University of Kentucky, accepted appointment in June as chief TVA archaeologist and will direct work of exploration in the Chickamauga, Pickwick Landing and Gunters-

ville reservoirs. T. M. N. Lewis is in direct charge of excavations in the Chickamauga area and work was started there in the spring.

Andrew O. Holmes, Memphis, was appointed February 10 by President Roosevelt to represent Tennessee on the De Soto Expedition Board. The board will compile data regarding the expedition of De Soto and submit its findings to Congress for the purpose of planning a celebration to commemorate the 400th anniversary of De Soto's expedition.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt paid a visit to Knoxville and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park on September 9-10 driving through to Asheville, North Carolina, and visiting, on the way, the Cherokee Indian reservation.

Judge John H. DeWitt made an address, "John Sevier and the Pioneer Spirit," at the 47th convention of the Tennessee State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution held in Memphis, October 10, at Hotel Gayoso.

The Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, observed its 80th anniversary, February 26. A charter was granted, by act of the state legislature to "Edward Stephenson and Francis A. Owen, and their successors in office" to be "book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and by that name and style to have perpetual succession, for the manufacture and distribution of books, tracts, periodicals, etc."

Epitaphs from the cemeteries of the area now occupied by Norris Lake are being typed in alphabetical order at the University of Tennessee.

Southern Historical Research Magazine, edited and published at Dallas, Texas, by Worth S. Ray, has completed its first volume. This magazine is of much interest to Tennessee whose citizens were early settlers, soldiers and statesmen of the republic and, later, state of Texas. The vital records and the biographical and genealogical sketches are of particular value.

Miss Zella Armstrong continued her series of biographies of prominent Chattanoogans which were published in Sunday issues of the Chattanooga *Times.*

"A History of the Cherokee Indians," by John P. Brown, was published in *The Lookout,* May 12, 22 and June 26.

John M. Wooten contributed to the Chattanooga *News,* of September 12, a sketch of Return Jonathan Meigs, III. Meigs was a grandson of the Cherokee Indian agent of the same name. He was attorney general of Tennessee, 1838-1839, and state senator, 1843-1844.

Sketches of the families of Abel, Buchanan, Chambliss, Day, Everett, Gaut, Goodner, Greer, Guthrie, Hughes, Lowrey, McCarty, Matlock, Parks, Pope, Ross (John), Smith, Stewart, Tate, Taylor, Thurman, Turney, Vann, Walker (John) and Weatherly, compiled by Mrs. Penelope J. Allen appeared in the Sunday issues of the Chattanooga *Times*.

The Knoxville *News-Sentinel,* July 5, issued a Golden Jubilee edition celebrating its fifty years of existence and, also, James White's settlement upon the site of Knoxville 150 years ago. This number contained sketches of events connected with the history of Knoxville. For some time previous to July the *News-Sentinel* staff had dramatized portions of the history of Knoxville and given weekly broadcasts over WNOX.

John S. Van Gilder contributed local historical sketches to the *News-Sentinel* issues of January 5, April 26, July 5 and October 3.

The Fountain City *News,* a weekly "newspaper with character," edited and published by William S. Morgan and June Woolrich Morgan, continued from April 9 to September 10, when it ceased publication. It was a worthy enterprise but could not be made to pay its upkeep. "A History of Fountain City," by Nannie Lee Hicks was published in this paper.

The Knoxville *Journal* issued a special edition, April 26, in honor of Miss Pattie Boyd's fifty years of service as society editor. Historical episodes in the social life of the people of Knoxville were featured.

The *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* edited by E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, in the December, 1936, issue, began the publication of a series of documents, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," translated and edited by D. C. Corbitt, Candler College, Havana, Cuba. These documents bear a close relationship, indicated by cross references, to the "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," translated and edited by D. C. and Roberta Corbitt, the first installment of which appears in this present issue of our Society's *Publications, pp.* 111-142.

In the Notes and News sections of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (1932) and No. 7 (1935), appeared lists of Tennesseans, sketches of whom had been included in the first fifteen volumes of the *Dictionary of American Biography.* Subsequently that noteworthy project has been completed, five additional volumes having come from the press, in which have been noted sketches of the following Tennesseans: Issachar Jacob Roberts (1802-1871), missionary to China; James Robertson (1742-1814), pioneer; Kiffin Yates Rockwell (1892-1916), soldier and aviator in the World War and one of the original members of the Escadrille Lafayette; James Harris Rogers (1856-1929),

inventor; John Ross (1790-1866), Cherokee chief; George Roulstone (1767-1804), first printer in Tennessee; Edward Terry Sanford (1865-1930), jurist; William Anderson Scott (1813-1885), Presbyterian clergyman, educator and author; William Lindsay Scruggs (1836-1912), diplomat and author; Sequoyah (1770?-1843), inventor of the Cherokee syllabary; Ambrose Hundley Sevier (1801-1848), representative and senator from Arkansas; John Sevier (1745-1815), pioneer, soldier, first governor of Tennessee; William Lewis Sharkey (1798-1873), chief justice and provisional governor of Mississippi; Evan Shelby (1719-1794), soldier and frontiersman; Isaac Shelby (1750-1826), soldier, first governor of Kentucky; Alfred Montgomery Shook (1845-1923), Southern industrialist; Daniel Smith (1748-1818), soldier, secretary of Southwest Territory, senator; George Henry Smith (1873-1931), newspaper writer and author of humorous juvenile stories; Alexander Peter Stewart (1821-1908), Confederate soldier, chancellor of the University of Mississippi; Simpson Everett Stilwell (1849-1903), scout, peace officer; John Marshall Stone (1830-1900), governor of Mississippi; Alfred Alexander Taylor (1848-1931), congressman, governor of Tennessee; Robert Love Taylor (1850-1912), governor of Tennessee, United States senator, lecturer; Oliver Perry Temple (1820-1907), lawyer and author; Cyrus Thomas (1825-1910), ethnologist, entomologist; John Wilson Thomas (1830-1906), railway executive; John Tipton (1786-1839), soldier and senator; John Tipton (1730-1813), soldier, frontier politician, state senator; Fennell Parrish Turner (1867-1932), missionary executive; Peter Turney (1827-1903), jurist, governor of Tennessee, Confederate soldier; Lawrence Davis Tyson (1861-1929), soldier, newspaper publisher, and senator from Tennessee; Ap Morgan Vance (1854-1915), orthopedic surgeon; William Walker (1824-1860), adventurer; Nancy Ward (fl. 1776-1781), Indian leader; James Cartwright Warner (1830-1895), Tennessee industrialist; Harvey Magee Watterson (1811-1891), editor and congressman from Tennessee; Edward Douglass White (1795-1847); political leader; Hugh Lawson White (1773-1840), jurist, United States senator; James White (1747-1821), soldier, pioneer, legislator; William Heath Whitsitt (1841-1911), Baptist minister, church historian, and theological seminary president; John Thomas Wilder (1830-1917), soldier and industrialist; James Williams (1796-1869), journalist and diplomat; John Williams (1778-1837), senator, diplomat; John Sharp Williams (1854-1932), representative and senator from Mississippi; James Winchester (1752-1826), soldier; John Alexander Witherspoon (1864-1929), physician and medical educator; William Allen Woods (1837-1901), jurist; Luke Edward Wright (1846-1922), governor-general of the Philippines and secretary of war; Marcus Joseph Wright (1831-1922), soldier, editor of Confederate records and author; David Wendell Yandell (1826-1898), physician; Lunsford Pitts Yandell (1805-1878), paleontologist,

physician and pioneer in medical education in the Ohio Valley; James Erwin Yeatman (1818-1901), banker, civic leader, philanthropist; William Yerger (1816-1872), lawyer and judge; Henderson Yoakum (1810-1856), Texas historian; Ewing Young (d. 1841), trapper, Oregon pioneer; Felix Kirk Zollicoffer (1812-1862), journalist, congressman and soldier.

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James W. Patton is professor of history, Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

J. A. Sharp is a teacher of history in the Rule Junior High School, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Samuel C. Williams, a prominent legalist of Johnson City, Tennessee, is an acknowledged authority on the history of Tennessee.

D. C. Corbitt is professor of history at Candler College, Havana, Cuba. Roberta Corbitt, his wife, an accomplished linguist, assisted in the translations.

Laura E. Luttrell is on the staff of the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

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Dr. Carl S. Driver, died March 23, 1936.
Mr. R. H. Lambright, died March 4, 1936.

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